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ART. I.—ARMINIUS.

The Works of James Arminius, D.D., formerly Professor of Divinity in the University of Leyden. Translated from the Latin, in three volumes. The first and second by JAMES NICHOLS, author of "Calvinism and Arminianism compared in their Principles and Tendency." The third, with a Sketch of the Life of the author, by Rev. W. R. BAGNALL, A.M., of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Auburn: Derby & Miller; Buffalo: Derby, Orton, & Mulligan. 3 vols. 8vo., pp. 669, 538, 565. 1853.^c

It is our purpose in the present article to consider the relation which Arminius sustained to Christian doctrine; to estimate the influence which he exerted upon its historical development, and the rank due to him among the great theological leaders of the Church.

^c We have here ventured to associate as subject and review, a book and an article, which were furnished without any reference to each other.

The three stately volumes of Arminius's works, partly translated and entirely edited by Mr. Bagnall, and issued from the publishing house of Derby, Orton, & Mulligan, Buffalo and Auburn, have long deserved a full notice in the pages of this Quarterly. They are the first complete edition of Arminius that has appeared in the English language, and the first edition of any material part of his works that has appeared in this country. Our denomination, whose creed accords so completely with the teachings of this learned, and accomplished, and holy man, is bound to maintain the freshness of his precious memory. We cannot better do it than by well sustaining this beautiful monument of his genius, his piety, his erudition, and his misfortunes. An appeal to his works, as they stand, will show with how much candor or learning the Calvinistic pulpits of our country have applied his name, to designate doctrines which he condemned with as much explicitness and far more consistency than Calvinists themselves. The name of Arminius is one of the brightest records of the modern Church, and passing years will but increase the luster with which it beams.

Mr. Bagnall, the editor, is a graduate of the Wesleyan University, and was subsequently tutor at that institution, where he was distinguished for the thoroughness of his classical scholarship. We trust that this enterprise of his youthful scholarship is but the first-fruits of what he will accomplish.—*Ed. Qu. Rev.*

The difficulty of such an estimate is greatly enhanced by the fact, that nearly all our standard histories of the Church, which cover the period of the Calvinistic controversy, and from whose statements the prevailing estimates of the great theologians who have figured in the Church, in bygone years, are formed, are written by men whose sympathies are all enlisted against Arminius, either from Lutheran jealousy or Calvinistic hatred; and who, on that account, are really, though often unconsciously, incapable of either recognizing or delineating the true significance of the great ecclesiastical movement, to which he gave the initial impulse. Let an Arian write a History of the Nicene Age, and his estimate of Athanasius would be just as reliable as most of the representations given us in our *ex parte* histories of the Remonstrant Age. Perhaps the historical documents which have been published in the Netherlands by the Remonstrants, relative to the events of that age, may be deemed equally one sided and partial; but granting that they are so, they have by no means counteracted and neutralized the subtle influence of contra-Remonstrant misrepresentation, because, from the nature of the case, it is impossible that a transient and ephemeral pamphlet literature, written in barbarous Latin, or inaccessible Dutch, should exert the same influence in the formation of the popular judgment, respecting a past polemical discussion, as would be exerted by the standard historians of the time. We shall endeavor, however, to lay aside, as far as possible, every prejudice which we may have imbibed from the representation of either party; and so far as our studies of the original sources have qualified us, give a just and conscientious valuation of Arminius, and of the services which he rendered to Christian orthodoxy.

The whole sum and substance of religious doctrine and theory is embraced in these three terms: *God's nature, man's nature, and the relation subsisting between the two.* Theology is nothing more than the systematic definition, adjustment, and exposition of these three terms. Christian theology, or genuine orthodoxy, is simply a system of theological views upon these three points, which is self-coherent and harmonious with the teachings of Scripture. For the development of such a system, exhibiting the precise truth relative to these cardinal points, without redundancy or defect, it is necessary that each of these three points be made a special object of scrutiny and discussion. An error, in respect to either, will not only destroy at once the system's self-coherence, but infallibly conduct to the gravest heresies. For example, an error respecting the first may give us Pantheism; an error on the second point, anthropology, may lead to Atheism; while an erroneous theory respecting the

third gives us the two extremes of an iron fate or a groundless chance. True orthodoxy states and maintains a consistent doctrine respecting each, authenticated by the assertions of God's revelation.

Casting now a philosophic eye upon the panoramic depiction of the Church in history, we cannot fail to be struck by the remarkable fact, that the three great controversies, which trisect the historic development of Christian doctrine as a scientific system, have followed without deviation the natural order of these three terms. That development has hinged successively upon each in order. Athanasius, Augustine, and Arminius, represent in themselves the whole sweep of the dogmatic unfoldment of Christianity; these factors being given, we can construct the whole history of Christian doctrine. The first is the representative of that speculative movement, which developed into scientific form and defensible shape the ecclesiastical doctrine respecting God's nature; the second, of the subsequent movement by which the true doctrine of man's being was evolved; the third, of the still later and scarcely yet completed one, by which the relations of the two are investigated and defined.

The ancient Church believed vaguely in the true divinity of Christ, and of the Holy Spirit; but Athanasius was raised up to explain with clearness, to maintain, and to bring forth into suitable prominence, the great doctrine of a substantial tri-unity of the Divine essence, under all temporal manifestations of separate hypostases, on which suppositions only the ancient beliefs of the Church and the unqualified declarations of Scripture could be true. His mission was the enunciation, exposition, and defense of a great truth respecting the *Divine nature*, and round that truth was grouped all the Christian thinking of that age. There was no great doctrinal system of the time, heretical or not, which was not logically related to this center-thought of the Church. It implied in itself all anterior, and all subsequent speculations upon the Divine nature, Origenistic, Arian, Sabellian, Monophysitic, Nestorian, or orthodox.

Augustine was commissioned for another work. The Church, in the centuries antecedent to his appearance, had vaguely believed in the depravity and helplessness of human nature; but Augustine was raised up to explain with clearness, to maintain, and to bring forth into suitable prominence, the great doctrine of the native corruption and moral ruin of man; his utter hopelessness apart from the remedial agencies of Divine grace, on which supposition only the ancient beliefs of the Church and the unqualified declarations of Scripture could be true. His mission was the enunciation, exposition, and defense of a great truth respecting *human nature*, and round that

truth was grouped all the Christian thinking of that age. It is this which gives that age its character. The whole scholastic theology is but the radicated and ramified outgrowth of that live germ of truth. To him is the Church indebted for her first vivid apprehension and scientific statement of the Christian doctrine of man. Augustine is the historical representative of that organic evolution.

The third of these divinely appointed representative men laid hold of both these truths, which, for sixteen centuries, had been developing; accepted the Church's developed ideas respecting God, and respecting man, and then expounded with keen, dialectical rigor the only doctrine which could harmonize the two. ✓His mission was to point out *how* God could be what the Church taught that he was, and man what the Church declared him to be, at one and the same time. The readjustment of the disturbed and abnormal relations of man to God, by justification, is the central thought of Protestant theology; the announcement and exposition of their relations in that readjustment was the work of Arminius. Magnify either of the related terms to the final suppression of the other, and error is the result. Magnify the Divine agency to the complete suppression of the human, in that readjustment, and fatalism is inevitable. Magnify the human to the complete suppression of the Divine, and the most ultra Pelagianism is the result. To Arminius is the Church indebted for her first vivid apprehension and scientific statement of the Christian doctrine of the relation of man to God. And only until Arminius is placed in this relation to the doctrinal development of Christianity in the Church, is there attained a true perception of the grand and growing rhythm of its history.

Let us look a moment more at this rhythmical sweep of Christian science through the ages. Had the Nicene Age furnished the Church with nothing more than a definite apprehension and scientific statement of the essential trinality of the one God, and the essential unity of his trine hypostases, it would have been difficult to see, how by logical consequence it would follow, that the relation between the Divine nature, so defined, and human nature as defined by Augustine, must be a soteriological or redemptive one. There is no evident and palpable necessity, that the relation between guilty man and a God essentially and formally trinal, should be such, any more than there is, that the relation between guilty man and a God essentially and formally unitary, should be of that character. But the Nicene fathers did more than furnish this bare scientific fact respecting the Divine essence. By establishing the real and true consubstantiality of the atoning, mediating, and interceding Christ, and the convicting, regenerating, and comforting Spirit, with the

eternal, omniscient, and all-ruling God, there was laid a foundation for such a conception of the Divine nature, that the relation of that nature to the human, whenever, in the scientific elaboration of her doctrines, the Church should arrive at a systematic enunciation of her idea of that human nature, could, by no possibility, be other than the soteriological one made known in the Gospel.

That relation we will consider as dual. The relation between the triune God and *guilty* man is one, the relation between the triune God and *regenerate* man is another. The true and normal relation, which ought to subsist between the Creator and a creature, has been disturbed. The method and rationale of the readjustment of this disturbed and abnormal relation is the object of *soteriology*. And did not the problem of this readjustment resolve itself into a higher one, we should place Luther, the second apostle of salvation by faith, as the third and final exponent of completed Christian theology. But as a temporal phenomenon, whose efficient cause sustains some relation to the Divine efficiency, that readjustment does resolve itself into a higher problem. The whole theological interest of the Predestinarian controversy is located precisely on this point. Both parties maintain the same scientific notion of the two natures, the Divine and the human. The apostle of the third great movement in the evolution and development of Christian doctrine, was not to expound the relation subsisting between the ecclesiastical idea of God, and the ecclesiastical idea of a *sinful* man, for concerning that relation there could be no dispute; neither was he to set forth the relation subsisting between the ecclesiastical idea of God, and the ecclesiastical idea of a *regenerate* man, for this, too, was clear as sunlight; but the mission of that great apostle was to point out the mutual relations of God and man, in that very readjustment, by which the sinning man becomes a regenerate one. The whole Church, meaning by the term, all who accepted the Nicene doctrine respecting God, with all which that doctrine logically implied, and the Augustinian anthropology, so far as it related to man's present actual condition, the whole Church, we say, were perfectly agreed touching the relation of God to man in his natural state, and his relation to him in his regenerate state, and touching the necessity of man's passing from the one relation to the other; only until errorists rose up, and taught a false relation of God and man in that passage, did the Church find it necessary to set forth the truth, in scientific form and with logical precision. As twice before error had forced her to give *belief* the form and shape of *science*, so when the third great factor of her religious theory came up, error forced her to define the truth. As Arius and others rose

up in the Church, and taught a false doctrine of the Divine nature, and as Pelagius and his followers rose up, and taught a false doctrine of human nature, so Calvin and his associates, entirely misconceiving the relation of those natures, in the process of human conversion, set forth with eloquent advocacy an erroneous doctrine respecting that relation. But as the two former heresies only occasioned a more clear and distinct definition of the truth, which had almost slumbered in the consciousness of the Church, so the latter only occasioned a clearer and more discriminating definition of the truth which had been assailed. Neither of these great teachers were wrong on all points. The sum total of the first one's heresy could be expressed in Greek by a single vowel. The errors of Pelagius all sprang from one false anthropological view. So everything distinctively Calvin's came from one false idea of the soteriological relation of God and man. The great error with which the Church of the Remonstrant Age had to combat, and which occasioned the scientific elaboration of her present doctrine respecting the third factor of theology, consisted in making the relation of the Divine efficiency to one temporal phenomenon, namely, the readjustment of the disturbed and abnormal relation of God and the sinner, an exception, *making the relation of the Divine efficiency to that phenomenon essentially unlike its relation to any other temporal phenomenon in the universe.* The Church held that every exercise of the Divine efficiency, in the production of temporal phenomena, was subjectively conditioned by Divine wisdom, omniscience, and goodness; these errorists constituted themselves such, by maintaining that *this* particular exercise of Divine efficiency, by which the abnormal relation of God to a sinner is readjusted, was unconditioned by anything whatsoever, and was grounded solely upon the arbitrary good-pleasure of the Almighty. Maintaining this unconditioned elective volition, they naturally demanded an "effectual calling," "irresistible grace," and "persevering succors," for all these were necessary concomitants. The refutation of this error, and the establishment of the opposite view, was the mission of Arminius. His labors gave scientific form to the ecclesiastical opinion upon the third great point, and completed the cycle of Christian theology. As in the development of Apostolic doctrine, the Pauline and Petrine elements were unified in John, so in its uninspired development, after Athanasius had set forth his truth, and Augustine his, Arminius steps forth, the later apostle of dogmatic completion.

Such is the position due to Arminius, and such the relation which he sustains to the *general* development of Christian doctrine. The philosophy of its history demands that this position be assigned him,

and, we repeat, that only when this position is assigned him is there attained a true perception of the symmetry and rhythm of doctrinal history. We proceed to speak of his relation to the historical development of this particular dogma of Predestination.

The unanimous and unquestioned doctrine of the Church, anterior to Augustine, upon this point, was, so far as developed into distinctness, precisely identical with that which owes its scientific and final form to Arminius. The fathers often expressed themselves unguardedly, and, in so doing, sometimes laid themselves open to the charge of a leaning toward the erroneous views afterward systematized by Pelagius and his coadjutors; but the general sentiment was soundly evangelical, and capable of an enunciation entirely free from every suspicion of consanguinity with that heresy. The Greek Fathers, whenever their sentiments were called out, express unequivocally their belief in the conditionation of the Divine decrees, upon the Divine prescience. Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Chrysostom, all, in clear and decisive statements, gave their adherence to the theory of conditioned Predestination, decidedly rejecting the opposite, as false, dangerous, and utterly subversive of the Divine glory. In the Western Church, all the early theologians and teachers were equally unanimous. Tertullian, much as he sometimes needed the doctrine of irresistible grace, would never adopt an unconditional election even, much less an unconditioned reprobation. So Hilary of Poitiers (Pictoviensis) declares that the decree of election is not "*indiscretus*," and Neander, in describing his system, says: "Hilary considered it very important to set forth distinctly, that all the operations of Divine grace are conditioned on man's free will, to repel everything which might serve to favor the notion of a natural necessity, or of an unconditional Divine predestination."* So Ambrose, who lived a little later, and even Jerome, who exhibited such zeal in behalf of Augustinism, declares, without any reservation, that even the Divine election is based upon foreknowledge. True, Augustine cites two passages (De Dono Perseverantiæ, 19) from Ambrose, as favoring his scheme of the unconditionality of the elective decree, one of which, "God calls those whom he designs to call, and whom he will he makes religious," he alludes to in one or two other places, but all commentators upon the father assure us, that these passages by no means give ground for the Augustinian doctrine of election. To quote Neander again: "Although the freedom of the Divine election, and the creative agency of grace, are made particularly prominent in these passages, still they do not imply any necessary exclusion of the state of

* Torrey's Version, vol. ii, p. 562.

reciprocity, in the individual, as a condition, and, accordingly, this assertion of Ambrose admits of being easily reconciled with the assertions first quoted. In another place, at least, (De Fide, lib. v, § 83,) he expressly supposes, that predestination is conditioned by foreknowledge."*

Thus for more than four hundred years, not a voice was heard among the theologians and teachers of either the Eastern or the Western Church, to disturb the concord and unanimity of the Christian world respecting this doctrine. During all this time, not one had advocated the absurd idea of a motiveless Divine volition respecting the immortal destinies of men.

In tracing the rise of the view, properly known as the Calvinistic, we behold two distinct steps. The first was taken four hundred years after Christ, the second four hundred years after the first. The first consisted in making the salvation of those who, during all the years of humanity's history, shall experience the saving transformation of Divine grace, dependent solely upon the bare will and sovereign pleasure of God. The second consisted in making, not only the salvation of the saved, but likewise the damnation of the damned, dependent upon that same bare will and sovereign pleasure of the Almighty. The first was taken under a mistaken impression, that thereby the glory of the Divine grace would be enhanced, the second for the sake of logical consistency. The first was taken by Augustine in his dotage, the second by Gottschalk in the prime of his manhood. Had it not been for the immense authority of Augustine, and an impression that it enhanced the glory of Divine grace, the first step would never have been taken. As it was, at that time, it was sufficient for the condemnation of any doctrine, that it was held by the Pelagians. True, the Pelagians held to the view of foreordination which had received the unanimous sanction of all the fathers of the whole Church, during its whole lifetime, but, forsooth, if these heretics held to it, it must be false! So the Bishop of Hippo, an old man of seventy-three, with but three more years to live, nibs his polemic *calamus* for a last campaign. In these three years, he first sets forth, with all the authority of his great name, his innovation, in the work entitled, "De Correptione et Gratia," and then, to defend it against objectors, elaborates it through his last two works, "De Prædestinatione Sanctorum," and "De Dono Perseverantiæ." These three books, thus written, were the first writings in the doctrinal or literary history of the Church, which ever broached, for the purpose of advocating, the idea of a Divine choice [*electio*] unconditioned by anything whatsoever.

* Neander's Ch. Hist., Torrey's Version, vol. ii, p. 564.

Doubtless, the false views which the Pelagians held respecting human nature and ability, caused them to join great accretions of error to the orthodox doctrine of Conditional Predestination, especially in making *human merit* a condition of election; but so far as sustaining the fundamental principle of all antecedent thinkers of the Church, namely, that no exercise of Divine agency is grounded on the bare will and sovereign pleasure of God, they were clearly right, and their opponents evidently destitute of a shadow of authority from the fathers in either the Greek or the Latin Church. Augustine, in trying to refute what was erroneous, attacked also that which was true, what had never been questioned, what the Church had believed for hundreds of years, even from the days of apostolic tuition, and tried, by all the influence of his authoritative character and position, to foist over into the Church a newly hatched theory of his own, which would, it is true, forever preclude the error of building on human merit, but at the same time pave the way, and open the door, for as grievous a heresy, the Antinomian. In his true sphere and office, as the providential expounder, we had almost said revelator, of the evangelical doctrine of human nature, none can esteem and honor the great name of Augustine more highly than we; none can accord a more hearty, sincere, and enthusiastic admiration. But, when he brings out his realistic hypotheses, and attempts to explain the manner in which human nature became what it is, or when, in his senility, he attempts to cause a private fancy, unheard of before in the whole history of the Church, to be enacted into an authoritative synodical decision, we allow the purity of his motives, but we repudiate the claims of his dogmas.

Thus was the first step taken by Augustine, by making the Divine election absolutely unconditioned. God chose from the "*massa perditionis*" such and such to be saved, and *he chose such and such just because he pleased to choose them, and for no other reason whatsoever. The rest were passed by, reprobated and damned, not because he chose to damn them, but because they were sinners.* Four hundred years more rolled by, before a man could be found bold enough to apply the same principle to the two cases, and show that if the rule worked one way, it must both. True, the phrase *prædestinatio duplex* had crept into the writings of Fulgentius of Ruspe, and Isadore of Seville, but only until Gottschalk appeared could one be found to perfect the crude fancy of Augustine, by maintaining, that, as the Almighty predestinates whom he will to salvation, just because he pleases, without any reference to their own character, so he predestinates, in the same way, whom he will to damnation, for no other reason than because

he pleases. True, Gottschalk did not propound his views in so naked a form; but this alone was the point wherein he differed from his forerunner.

The difficulties in which he involved himself by assuming this position, are well known to every reader of Church history. He was accused of being a teacher of error; his doctrine condemned as heretical, in an assembly held at Mentz, in the year 848, under Archbishop Rabanus Maurus; summoned by his own Archbishop Hinkmar, the next year, to appear before him at Cheirsy; was there again pronounced a heretic, and in the presence of the king, sentenced to be whipped and then imprisoned. We have all read the story of the inhuman scourging, which forced him to retract for a moment, and cast the document which he had written in defense of his views into the fire; of his untiring efforts to vindicate himself; of the cruel denial of Hinkmar to grant him, at the hour of death, the sacrament, and the boon of a burial according to the rites of the Church, except on condition of recantation; of his manful refusal, and peaceful death.

Although, after his decease, different modifications of the Gottschalkian doctrine found advocates and defenders, it seems to have made no great progress in the Church for several centuries. The Dominicans, probably, came nearest of any, during the Scholastic Age, to its adoption, but still their sentiment was much nearer the imperfect, but less obnoxious theory of Augustine. Gottschalk does not seem to have left behind him systematic theological works, on which the perpetuity of original views so much depends. Before any special progress could be looked for, it was requisite that some man of logical ability should adopt the hypothesis, and construct a body of divinity, ostensibly based upon Scripture, but squaring everything to this fundamental principle. The Reformation, that sublime vindication of the sacredness of individuality in thought and faith, opened an era in which the believer in Gottschalk's doctrine might openly proclaim it by tongue or pen, without fear of encountering Gottschalk's unhappy fate. Free territory was given for speculation, and sufficient latitude to satisfy all sincere and honest lovers of truth. If ever the idea could be expected to find a defender, who would develop it into a theological system, this was the time to look for him. Such a man appeared.

The overshadowing authority of Augustine and an inability to discriminate between the true and the erroneous in his scheme of doctrine, combined to incline the earlier Reformers at first toward his view of Predestination. But soon perceiving that consistency would force them either to accept Gottschalk's theory, or else reject

Augustine's, they went back to the primitive, and still prevalent doctrine of the Church, and conditioned both the Decree of Election and the Decree of Reprobation, upon God's foreknowledge. Although Luther never made a formal retraction of very strong statements made in his controversy with Erasmus, yet there are many evident indications, that his views upon the point changed materially during his later years. And one of the prominent characteristics of the Church which bears his name, a peculiarity which, more than any other single thing, distinguishes her from the *soi-disant* "Reformed Church" of Continental Europe, is her strenuous advocacy of the universality of the atonement, and of the conditionality of the Divine decrees. The change in the sentiments of Melancthon is still more clear. He who held to so rigid a scheme of predestination, that, in 1521, he could write "*Quando quidem omnia quæ eveniunt, necessario eveniunt juxta divinam prædestinationem, nulla est voluntatis nostræ libertas,*"* could, but a few years later in life, not only see that such a predestination was identical with fate, but could boldly say: "*Scribit ad me Lælius, de Stoico fato usque adeo litem Genevæ moveri, ut, quidam in carcerem conjectus sit, propterea quod a Zenone differrit. O misera tempora! doctrina salutis peregrinis quibusdam disputationibus obscuratur!*"† He even went so far as to expurgate his famous "*Loci Communes,*" that wonderful work, which ran through *sixty-seven* editions, in only seventy-four years, striking out every passage which could favor the error of Absolute Predestination, either as respects the elect, or the reprobate.

Such was the relation of the Reformation to the doctrine, until, at length, John Calvin appeared upon the stage. Singularly adapted, both by temperament and experience, for the task, he disinterred the old Gottschalkian notion, brought it forth from the obscurity where it had reposed undisturbed for more than seven hundred years, and built thereon a theological system. Having chosen his premises, the impulsive young Frenchman was intimidated by no conclusions, however startling; and where reasoning failed, always had ready recourse to dogmatic and magisterial assertion. His intense personal activity and zeal, his influential position at Geneva, the instrumentalities and agencies furnished by a prosperous academic institution, all combined to diffuse his peculiar sentiments throughout the Protestant portion of the Continent.

* "Since all things which happen necessarily, happen according to Divine predestination, there is no liberty of our will."

† "Lælius writes to me that a contest is moved at Geneva, concerning stoical fate, so that an individual has been cast into prison because he differs from Zeno. O miserable times! in which the doctrine of salvation is obscured by irrelevant disputations."

Through the theologians and pastors whom he educated, he, in fact, succeeded in shaping the creed of almost the whole reformed body on this point, with the exception of the Lutheran and Anabaptist. ✓ At this critical juncture, Providence raised up a champion of the truth, a defender of the standard faith of the Church during all the foregone fifteen centuries, who so valorously performed his mission, that, though the error still lingers in one or two localities, it lives rather by virtue of the truths which good men have blended with it, than from any inherent power of the hypothesis itself to win the adherence of thinking men and women. Arminius was that chosen champion. Arminius was the chosen defender of that standard faith which the Church had held for fifteen foregone centuries. He headed the movement which liberalized so many of the Continental communions, emancipated the Netherlandic Church from the errors of Geneva, and eventually transformed the whole theological theory of the Anglican establishment. ✓ Though educated in part at the very feet of Beza, and brought up a rigid Calvinist in every respect, no youthful inculcation, nor association of ripening manhood, could conceal from his keen, strong intellect the fallacies of the system. In fact, it was while searching for arguments with which to defend it, that he first learned its unreasonableness, contrariety to patristic authority, and incompatibility with the teachings of Divine Revelation. His rejection of it was not sudden, neither was it prompted by external circumstances. It was after ascertaining, to his entire satisfaction, that everything peculiar to Calvin was but an innovation upon the orthodox and long-established faith of the Church—a mere human interpolation—a galvanic revivification of a defunct monkish notion, which had many a year before disturbed the Church of France a few months, but which had found not a single unequivocal advocate for seven hundred years. ✓ Christian orthodoxy is under unspeakable obligations to him for so successfully meeting the error, just as it was apparently on the eve of triumph over the Protestant world. True, he did not utterly eradicate and annihilate the error, neither did an Athanasius preclude the possibility of a subsequent Socinus. And as the name of the Nicene father is none the less illustrious in the illuminated archives of Christ's kingdom on earth, because Socinus lived, so, in like manner, is it no disparagement to the fadeless honors of Arminius, that history records the life and the influence of Jonathan Edwards.

Truth often suffers more from friends than from foes. Scarcely had Arminius taken his departure, when the defense of the truth, to which he had given scientific form and statement, was taken up, and enthusiastically carried on, by a party of theologians whose

rationalizing tendencies would have found little countenance from him whose followers and pupils they professed to be. Impatient of the long-continued yoke of Genevan dictation, they rushed restively, so soon as that yoke was broken, to the opposite extreme; to an excess of speculative freedom, bordering hard upon licentiousness. It is saddening to trace the downward progress of the Netherlandic Church, from the evangelical orthodoxy of Arminius and Episcopijs, through Curcellæus and Limbörgius, to the flat, unequivocal rationalism of Le Clerk and Wetstein. And as in former times, the manifold errors which the Pelagians held prejudiced their opponents against the truth, which they held with those errors, so all the odium, which belonged to this later Hollandic Pelagianism, became forever associated, in many minds, with the name of Arminius himself.

So far was Arminius from Pelagian views respecting man's fall, moral ability, Divine ~~grace~~, etc., that only the most reprehensible misrepresentation, of egregious ignorance, can presume to charge those views upon him. On the latter point, Divine grace, he says, in his "Declaration of Sentiments:" "I ascribe to grace the commencement, the continuance, and the consummation of all good; and to such an extent do I carry its influence, that a man, though already regenerate, can neither conceive, will, nor do any good at all, nor resist any evil temptation, *without this preventing and exciting, this following and co-operating grace.*" In his Eleventh Pub. Disputation, he says of Free Will: "The free will of man, toward the true Good, is not only wounded, maimed, infirm, bent, and weakened, but it is also imprisoned, destroyed, and lost. And its powers are not only debilitated and useless, unless they be assisted by grace, but it has no powers whatever except such as are excited by Divine grace." He goes on to quote and adopt the very words of Augustine, where he comments on the passage, "Without me ye can do nothing." As to the Fall, and our relation to Adam, his language is so strong, so different from what many would expect from him, that I fear it will be necessary to present the original, lest it be thought the translator has taken unwarrantable liberties. By fair interpretation no meaning can be extorted from his language favoring in the least the Pelagian hypothesis, or even what was termed by some the Arminian. He evidently held, not only to the real "physical and metaphysical unity of all men with Adam," but even to the *imputation of the guilt of Adam's sin to all men*. This statement, so contrary to the "Remonstrantical" view, to use a term, for which I believe Dr. Walter Balcanqual is responsible, certainly needs substantiation, but nothing is easier than to furnish it. In his Diss.,

in cap. viii, ad Rom. Pars Tertia, he says: "Adamum peccando et se et posteros omnes corrupisse, et iræ Dei obnoxios fecisse."* "Omnes qui ex Adamo ordinaria via nascuntur, trahere ex ipso originale peccatum et reatum mortis æternæ."† "Omnes," he says in his answer to Junius's Reply to his fourteenth proposition, "Omnes in Adamo peccarunt et transgressionis rei sunt facti."‡ Again, *ibid.*: "Adversus nullam enim aliam legem Adam peccasse legitur, imo peccati adversus illam commissi rei omnes dicimur in Scriptura."§ So in his "Replica ad resp. Jun. Prop. xxiv," he speaks of God *imputing* "primi peccati reatum omnibus Adami posteris non minus quam ipsi Adamo et Evæ, propterea quod et ipsi in Adamo peccaverant."|| In his Review of Perkins are some of his strongest statements, especially on children sinning in their parents, e. g.: "Pharasei enim jam ante in Adamo imo peccatores erant,"¶ i. e., before they rejected the counsel of God. (Luke vii, 30.) Still stronger is the following, which few Calvinistic writers even have surpassed: "Probas autem gratiæ rejectionem prævisam non esse causam desertionis quia, 'infantes extra fœdus Evangelicale morientes gratiam non repudiaverint,' qui tamen reprobi sunt, et 'a Deo deserti.' At inquam ego in parentibus, avis, abavis, atavis, tritavis Evangelii gratiam repudiaverunt, quo actu meruerunt ut a Deo desererentur. Velim enim mihi solidam adferri rationem, cur cum omnes in Adamo contra legem peccaverint posterī ipsius atque eo ipso pœnam meriti sint et desertionem etiam infantes in suis parentibus quibus gratia Evangelica est oblata et repudiata, non peccaverint contra gratiam Evangelii."*** This is no *argumentum ad hominem*, for he gives the reason for his position in the very next

* "Adam, by sinning, corrupted himself and all his posterity, and so made them obnoxious to God's wrath."

† "All who from Adam are born in the ordinary way, draw from him original sin and liability to eternal death."

‡ "All have sinned in Adam, and are made answerable for transgression."

§ "Against no other law do we read that Adam sinned, and we all are said in Scripture to be guilty of the sin committed against it."

|| "Liability for the first sin to all the posterity of Adam not less than to Adam and Eve, because they have themselves in Adam sinned."

¶ "The Pharisees were, before, sinners in Adam."

*** "You maintain the rejection of grace foreseen not to be the cause of desertion, because, you say, 'infants dying without the gospel covenant have not rejected grace,' and yet are reprobate and deserted by God. But I say that they have rejected the grace of the gospel in their parents, and grandparents, and forefathers, by which act they have deserved to be deserted by God. For I would like to have proof adduced how all posterity could sin in Adam against the law, and yet infants, to whom the gospel is offered in their parents and rejected, have not sinned against the grace of the gospel."

sentence: "Perpetua enim est fœderi Dei ratio quod filii in parentibus comprehendantur et censeantur."* Even Professor Stuart may well affirm, "*I have met with no higher type of orthodoxy [Calvinism] than that of Arminius, on this much-contested point.*" Many more passages could be cited from a list of references which I once made out, embracing *forty-four* passages in his works, distinctly affirming the doctrine of Imputation. Calvinists would certainly consult their interests, to change their vituperations into encomia, and then use his name as an authority on this point, when authority is so very much needed. † Justice to Arminius demands that his name be evermore set free from all Pelagian associations, ancient or modern. ‡

Such, then, is the relation which Arminius sustains to the ecclesiastical development of the doctrine of Predestination. As we have seen, the error respecting this point appeared late and advanced but slowly. A thousand errors and heresies had appeared on almost every other point; but so irrational and anti-scriptural was it, to cut loose the Divine will from the rest of the Divine nature, that not one could be found for four hundred years to do it. And although it was done so cautiously at that time, although only one single volition of the Divine mind was grounded in the bare caprice of God, and the most specious reasons given for thus grounding it, the monks of Adrumetum were not long in exhibiting in practice the logical consequences. But only until *eight hundred years* after the founding of the Church, did the doctrine of Absolute Predestination appear in Christian theology, in complete and logical form. In that form it was twice condemned, condemned promptly and indignantly at Mentz and at Cheirsy. It was then laid to rest seven hundred years, when finally, in the person of John Calvin, more than *fifteen hundred years* after the founding of the Church, it came forth again. Through him and his fellow-propagandists it was rapidly spreading. As advocated by him there was no ambiguity. He boldly attributed to God what would have been execrated in a human tyrant. ‡ His hand had molded, or was molding, almost every creed in the Protestant Church. But God forsook not his truth. As of old

* "For there is a permanent principle in the Covenant of God, that children should be comprehended and adjudged in their parents."

† That the race transgressed in Adam, Wesleyan Arminianism does not accept as a physical and literal fact. It is only as a brief and conceptual mode of viewing and expressing the matter, that we identify our race as a unit, and say that it sinned and fell in him as its representative.—*Ed. Qu. Rev.*

‡ A writer, whose name I have lost, illustrates most aptly the Divine procedure according to the Calvinistic theory, by the example of Tiberius, who, inasmuch as it was contrary to law that virgins should be strangled, first violated and then strangled them. "Immaturæ puellæ, quia more tradito nefas esset

Pharaoh educated the very Moses, who afterward led off so many thousands of his subjects, so in Calvin's own school at Geneva was the man in part trained, whose mission it was to overthrow the monstrous dogma, which, through that school, was being so rapidly fastened upon the Church. Never had a man a nobler work to do, never was a man's work better done. The words which he spoke to the living generation, and bequeathed to the generations after him, were vital and germinant; they brought forth fruit. The movement which he set in progress was the real heart of the Reformation. Luther led the practical movement, Arminius the theoretical. The one restored the ancient *life* of the Church, the other her ancient *truth*. Luther, as the human instrumentality, reformed the Church incipiently, Arminius gave that Reformation a fullness and completion. The movement swept on from Holland until the Lutheran creed was settled in favor of the ancient doctrine of universal redemption and conditional predestination. England soon after laid aside the error. Persecution, it is true, has kept alive the notion in the fastnesses of Scotland, the wilds of Switzerland, and among the descendants of those who fled for refuge to the wildernesses of New-England, and there blended with it so many associations of liberty and virtue, as to make it almost beautiful. But the great main body of the Church to-day is right upon this point. Absolute unconditional predestination is rejected to-day, by all the tens of thousands of the Greek Church, by all the millions of the Roman Catholic, by the Church of England and Protestant Episcopal Church of America, by the Lutherans of Europe and the Western Continent, by the General Baptists of England, and Free-will Baptists of America, and by that largest of all evangelical bodies, operating upon the voluntary principle, the Methodist. All these, with joined heart and voice, unite in uncompromising rejection of such an innovation, at variance alike with reason and the word of God. They all teach, that, to say God wills because he wills to will conducts to the same difficulties and miserable involvements as to say, man wills because he wills to will. According to the theory, the

virgines strangulari, vitiatæ prius a carnifice, dein strangulatæ." Suetonius lxi. The writer says: "Ignosce, ô bone Christi, ecclesiæ tuæ doctoribus, qui de Deo ad exemplum Tiberii docere, loqui, scribere non verentur." Another writer of the same age goes still further, averring that the idea is even too bad for the devil himself: "Assurement se représenter un Dieu, comme voulant des créatures afin de les tourmenter, pour glorifier et manifester quelque pretendu attribut, qui serroit dans luy, et décréter pour cet effet leur chute d'une manière qu'elle arrive infalliblement, est l'idée du grand Diable d'Enfer, qui n'est pas encore si méchant ni si détestable que cela." Pierre Soiret, cited in Mosh., De Anc. Concil. Dorde.

whole eternity of God *a parte ante* would be exhausted in our search after the antecedents of the first realized volition, without even then attaining the first. But if the action of the Divine will is not thus grounded and conditioned on itself only, but regulated in accordance with the other natural and moral attributes of the Divine nature, they maintain that unconditioned predestination is not true, for among those attributes is the Divine Omniscience, embracing not only a *scientia*, and a *post-scientia*, but a *præ-scientia* also, under which temporal conceptions alone are we able to construe, to our finite minds, the idea of an *omni-scientia*. They believe that a motiveless volition would be as irrational and unbecoming in God, as a motiveless volition in man: that a conditionation of the Divine volitions upon the Divine reason, is as little derogatory to the free choices of the sovereign God, as the conditionation of human volitions upon human reason is derogatory to the freedom of man. With this doctrine must the name of Arminius evermore be associated.

But we must close. We have given, in the latter section of this essay, our estimate of Arminius, and our view of the position due to him among the great theological teachers and leaders of the Church. To some who have been reared in the midst of influences calculated to convey a vastly different impression of the man, it may seem almost extravagant, but it is our honest belief that, so soon as the history of the era shall be fairly written, the odium, which rationalistic admirers have brought upon his name, wiped out, the calumnies of his enemies forgotten, Arminius will be seen and recognized as we have represented him, the living embodiment of the third great movement in the doctrinal development of Christianity. The time is rapidly approaching. The dominance of sensational metaphysics, on which the last hope of absolute Predestinarians was anchored, is at an end. The baseless notion has for the most part assumed the imperfect shape which Augustine invented, even where it is inculcated most strenuously. The retrograde movement will be more rapid than was the first. Calvinism has passed away; the Augustinism which has succeeded it in certain places, will quickly follow. Then, when, in the future Church, not one dissentient voice shall be heard upon this point and its consecutaries, the world will wonder at the past, and number this strange controversy among those curious aberrations of the human mind, which make the history of man at once so interesting and so painful. Three great names shall that future Church preserve, answering to the three great truths which she guards and disseminates, as the ages go by; those three great names, the mystic symbol of her whole historic development, will be the immortal ones, ATHANASIUS, AUGUSTINE, and ARMINIUS.

ART. II.—WORDSWORTH.

1. *The Complete Poetical Works of William Wordsworth.* Edited by HENRY REED. 1 vol. large octavo. Philadelphia: J. Kay & Brothers.
2. *The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth.* Edited by FRANCIS CHILD. 7 vols. 12mo. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co.
3. *Memorials of William Wordsworth.* 2 vols. 12mo. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

WE know of no one who embodies all the attributes of a perfect poet. The highest peaks of song, though often attempted, have never been scaled. High as are the throned summits of Homer, Dante, Shakspeare, Milton, there is a central mountain they have never ascended. To celebrate the work of God in redemption, in strains fitting even to our earthly ears, has never yet been done. Many have essayed this, but they do but prove the weakness of their wings and the height of the great argument in their futile endeavor. Milton approached it in *Paradise Regained*, but turned away from Sinai and Calvary, to which his theme pointed, to the far lower though divine victories in the wilderness of Judea. But though the great work of the poet is yet undone, much has been achieved. And among those who have sought the highest honors of this poetic palestra by the faithful exercise of vast powers, agreeably to his best understanding, of his abilities and his themes, is William Wordsworth.

Wordsworth was born in 1770, at Cockermouth, on the western coast of England; followed the profession of a poet near the Cumberland Lakes, and died April 23, 1850, the anniversary of Shakspeare's birth and death.

These fourscore years were all spent in the country, with but a few months' residence in London and on the Continent in his younger days. He held the office of stamp distributor for his district, which afforded him a small income, out of which he lived with great contentedness and honor, though in outward circumstances but little above the rustic society that surrounded him. From the death of Southey he was Poet Laureate, and in addition to this, received from Oxford University, a public recognition of his genius and labors in honors such as it has never given to another poet.

He lies in a little country church-yard, such as Gray wrote his *Elegy* in, and such as he himself describes with equal solemnity and richness of feeling and fancy, in the *Excursion*. The following description of his homes at Grasmere and Rydal, and his grave, from the unpublished letter of one of the clergymen of our Church,

who lately visited them, will appropriately introduce us to the works which have immortalized him, and he them :

“RYDAL, July 29, 1856.

“On our way south from Scotland, we turned aside to make the circuit of the English lakes. Early on Monday morning we were on the top of the coach, and to the merry music of an English horn, rattled out of the narrow streets of ancient Penrith. We had a ride of eighteen miles to Keswick, through a country abounding in pleasant and bold scenery. Old Skiddaw came in sight at length. We are on the banks of the Greta. We are in Keswick. Southey's house stands on an eminence overlooking the village and lake. After dinner we took the coach again, climbed hills and crossed valleys, rode for two or three miles at the foot of 'the mighty Helvellyn,' climbed now a longer and steeper hill, and from its summit looked down upon the vale and lake of Grasmere. It is so small and so encompassed with mountains, that it is all seen at one view, and when once in the valley, there comes over one a feeling of complete inclusion. The mountains are lofty, and on the horizon ridge broken into a thousand fantastic shapes. They stand far enough from the lake to allow room for a few sloping farms and a little village. The scenery was marked by the same traits as was the poet who lived amid it: majestic, beautiful, simple. The house where Wordsworth lived and many of his best poems were written, is a humble cottage, distinguished from the meaner houses which now are close around it, only by a whitewashed wall and a neat but very small yard. We found a pleasant view of the lake from a little height just back of the cottage. Picked a few wild blossoms from the rocks, and came away wondering that Wordsworth could have ever lived there; and yet, perhaps, it was like him, and chosen from the same feelings that led him to write about mountain daisies and Peter Bell. The church is in sight from the cottage, and stands at the head of the lake; an old, plain building with a low tower, and surrounded on three sides with graves. There was no difficulty in finding where he lay. A narrow but well-worn path led to the spot. It is in a corner of the yard, a large thorn near by, and other trees in the field adjoining. Two of his sisters, a married daughter, and two young children lie around him. The head-stone is a plain slab of dark slate, with no other inscription than this, 'William Wordsworth.' A thick sod grows over the grave, which is protected by a few twigs of willow woven simply together. How perfectly like the man. A little brook from the mountains flows past the church. Back in the fields, I noticed it was a babbling, merry stream, but when the church comes in sight it grows quiet and smooth, and where it touches the graveyard wall, spreads out broader and deeper, and yet so clear that you can count every pebble at the bottom. I need not tell you how happy I was lingering about that grave. At Abbotsford and Dryburgh Abbey, where Scott is buried, I was oppressed all the day. I went as one goes to a funeral, and while walking about that wonderful house, it seemed to me that there must be a dead man somewhere in its still chambers. But at Grasmere there was no room for lament. Nobody would think of saying, *poor* Wordsworth; I trust he was a Christian. On the tombstone of his wife's sister, there is an inscription written by himself, in which he expresses the devout hope that through Christ he may share with her in the resurrection of the blessed; and I am sure there is many a poem that has as much gospel in it as, to say the least, many a modern sermon. The sunset in that quiet valley was more than I can describe. Next morning we were on the coach again. The same hill that gave us our last sight of Grasmere gave us our first of Rydal Water. We stopped to see Rydal Mount. It is only a few steps from the main road, and yet quite hidden from sight. The grounds, though not extensive, were laid out by his own hands, and are of course both simple and elegant. At the end of one long

walk we found a rustic arbor, completely shut in, and yet looking out on pleasant views. We sat down where we knew he must have sat for many an hour. A little to the south of the house, on a grassy knoll which commands a lovely prospect, there were many mountain daisies growing."

There are several ways of contemplating the genius of Wordsworth as developed in his poems, but the most natural course is to follow the track which it pursued in its gradual growth. He assumed to be the poet of nature and of man—of nature, chiefly as she took a coloring from the intelligent soul that dwelt in her midst; of man, as he unfolded his varied elements in their native freedom, and simplicity, and power, from their earliest and lowest workings under the influences of this outer world, to their last and loftiest reaches under the illumination and sanctity of God, the Creator, and the Redeemer.

If we examine his claims as the poet of nature, we shall find he alone of his fellows, studiously observed its secret but all-powerful workings on the untrained, yet sensitive soul of man; that he detected and expressed its deeper teachings to that soul in its more cultivated states, and its highest office as one of the symbols of God. He felt that his most exalted duties centered in the spiritualizing of these phenomena. He strove to lift up the despised and trampled worlds within and without us, to seats of honor and influence; to carry them above the position of idols worshiped for their own sake, where their few devotees are apt to place them, to their true position as creatures and teachers of the love and holiness as well as the wisdom and power of God.

To do this he studied them through faculties given to every man, though feebly and often unconsciously used by the multitude. Hence the workings of his affections, which, guided, not controlled by the imagination, placed him in the heart of the forsaken Indian, the mad mother, the idiot boy, the rude peddler, those whose whole being is one all-consuming passion. Hence his subtle analogies between the movements of nature and the highest desires and duties of man. By these gifts and labors he stands at once the priest of nature and of man; the mediator of apparently hostile creations, the uniter of their harmonized whole to Heaven and immortality.

We can best trace the course of his ideas on the mission of nature by his sketch of the growth of his own mind. In the *Prelude*, an autobiographical poem which describes this growth, he portrays with great force and freshness, the influences of nature on the child, the youth, the full-grown man. Other poems in many places dwell on the latter themes; this alone presents with any fullness the peculiar power of material scenery on the dawning human spirit.

His childhood was passed among the woods, rivers, and mountains, and from them he drank half consciously such draughts of life as quickened every faculty of his being, and made them able to comprehend and utter the powers which had been thus insensibly exercised upon him. A glad, animal pleasure was prominent, yet never without some intimations of a nature that was greater than the mountains, that gamboled with these inferior playfellows, as a child of genius, among those of common mold, with full flow of social delight, but with gleams of thought and feeling with which they had no sympathy, though they had been the natural but unconscious suggestors of them to his superior soul. This pleasure, which it does not transcend the powers of nature herself to create, he thus describes:

"I remember when the changeful earth
And twice five summers, on my mind had stamped
The faces of the moving year. Even then
I held unconscious intercourse with beauty
Old as creation, *drinking in a pure*
Organic pleasure from the silver wreaths
Of curling mists, or from the level plain
Of waters colored by impending clouds,
The sands of Westmoreland, the creeks and bays
Of Cumbria's rocky limits, they can tell
How when the sea threw off his evening shades,
And to the shepherd's hut on distant hills
Sent welcome notice of the rising moon,
How I have stood, to deeper fancies yet
A stranger, linking with the spectacle
No conscious memory of a kindred sight,
And bringing with me no peculiar sense
Of quietness and peace, yet I have stood
Even while mine eye had moved o'er many a league
Of shining water, gathering as it seemed
Through every *hair-breadth* in that field of light
New pleasure, like a bee among the flowers."

While he showed these extraordinary susceptibilities, in a boy but ten years old, to the forms of nature, there was added to this delirious joy, even at that period, deeper movings from the same power:

"Mid that giddy bliss
Which, like a tempest, works along the blood
And is forgotten, even then I felt
Gleams like the flashing of a shield; the earth
And common face of nature spake to me
Rememberable things."

Very finely does he describe the rise of the moral feelings from natural objects, both in the sports and sins of boyhood. If in his boyish huntings, he yielded to a temptation with which all country boys are familiar, and stole the game another's snare had trapped,

"I heard among the solitary hills
Low breathings coming after me, and sounds
Of undistinguishable motion, steps
Almost as silent as the turf they trod."

So, when robbing birds' nests, the same voice of condemnation spoke from all objects that surrounded him :

"When I have hung
Above the raven's nest, by knots of grass
And half inch fissures on the slippery rock,
But ill sustained, and almost, so it seemed,
Suspended by the blast that blew amain,
Shouldering the crag. O, at that time,
While on the perilous ridge I hung alone,
With what strange utterance did the loud, dry wind
Blow through my ear! the sky seemed not a sky
Of earth; and with what motion moved the clouds!"

While Divine righteousness thus impressed its laws through material forms on an erring boy, the same spirit used approved pastimes with equal skill for equally exalted ends. Fishing, kite flying, skating, bathing, rowing, all

"with strong
And unproved enchantment led him on,"

whispering the moral of their bliss.

How vividly he unites the silent hills with the excitement of skating. Every boy is sensible of it, yet not to the extent it wrought in him :

"When we had given our bodies to the wind,
And all the shadowy banks on either side
Came sweeping through the darkness, spinning still
The rapid line of motion, then at once
Have I, reclining back upon my heels,
Stopped short, yet still the solitary cliffs
Wheeled by me, even as if the earth had rolled
With visible motion her diurnal round."

In a passage in the *Excursion*, he contrasts this instinctive passion of the boy with the workings of the same spirit in a maturer nature; motions that seem far above the insensible forces of mere matter in their tenderness and rapturousness :

"Such was the boy; but for the growing youth
What soul was his, when, from the naked top
Of some bold headland, he beheld the sun
Rise up and bathe the world in light. He looked—
Ocean and earth, the solid frame of earth
And ocean's liquid mass, beneath him lay
In gladness and deep joy. The clouds were touched,
And in their silent faces did he read
Unutterable love. Sound needed none,

Nor any voice of joy; his spirit drank
 The spectacle. *Sensation, soul, and form,*
All melted into him. They swallowed up
 His animal being. In them did he live,
 And by them did he live. They were his life."

Thus through scenes of nature, and the sensations of mind and conscience ingrafted upon them, and seeming to have their root and fatness in them, the child grows up to man. With fitting gratitude does he address these servants of God to the immortal man:

"Ye presences of nature in the sky
 And on the earth, ye visions of the hills
 And *souls of lonely places*, can I think
 A vulgar hope was yours when ye employed
 Such ministry? When ye through many a year
 Haunting me thus among my boyish sports,
 On caves and trees, upon the woods and hills,
 Impressed upon all forms the character
 Of danger or desire, and thus did make
 The surface of the universal earth
 With triumph and delight, with hope and fear,
 Work like a sea."

And rising still in recognition of Him whose these are, and whom they serve while ministering to his creature, the human soul, he exclaims in majestic strains of adoration:

"Wisdom and Spirit of the universe,
 Thou Soul that art the eternity of thought,
 That givest to forms and images *a breath*
And everlasting motion: not in vain
 By day or starlight, thus from my first dawn
 Of childhood didst thou intertwine for me
 The passions that build up the human soul."

Emerging from this state, where nature

"Broods like the day—a master c'er a slave,
 A presence that is not to be put by,"

he for a season revolted from her allegiance. But he soon returned to his first love, and, enriched by study at Oxford, by travel, by communion with the mighty revolutionary spirit of the age, by conjugal and parental affection, he brought to nature gifts greater than those she had given him. He hung these jewels of human experience on her regal form. He passed, by the aid of the powers he had thus made his own, into her secret chambers, and read there the handwriting of God's goodness and wisdom with more discerning eyes. He saw how close was the relation between matter and spirit. That, as bodily organs give original impulse and much subsequent nourishment to the indwelling soul, so does the material universe, as the clothing of Deity, greatly aid us in the knowledge and love

of Him. He felt that this yet bore the undistorted likeness of its Creator which was first given it. Though a higher order of his creation was in the midst of it, the deformities that had prevented that, rendered it, to one seeking after God, in some vital respects, less safe as a guide, less perfect as a mirror. So he became once more her pupil, but at the same time her teacher. He sat at her feet with reverent humility; he raised her by his own diviner nature to a loftier than her natural position.

We have no space for quotations to show the fullness and extent of this power over him, yet one or two among the multitude that present themselves, may show how it grew with his growth, and strengthened with his strength. He describes himself, as he asserts in the hero of his *Excursion* :

"Many an hour in caves forlorn,
And 'mid the hollow depths of naked crags,
He sat, and even in their fixed elements,
Or from the power of a peculiar eye,
Or by creative feeling overborne,
Or by predominance of thought oppressed,
Even in their fixed and steady lineaments,
He traced an ebbing and a flowing mind,
Expression ever varying."

He adds, in describing the effects of a sunrise upon him :

"In such access of mind, in such an hour
Of visitation from the living God,
Thought was not: in enjoyment it expired.
No thanks he breathed, he proffered no request.
Rapt into still communion that transcends
The imperfect offices of prayer and praise,
His mind was a thanksgiving to the power
That made him; it was blessedness and love."

Such an experience makes him, perhaps, the only poet, if not the only man, whose dayly feeling finds expression in Milton's apostrophe:

"Hail, *holy light*! First-born of heaven,
Or of the eternal, co-eternal beam,
May I express thee *unblamed*!"

It will be seen, from these passages, that his life must have been chiefly out of doors. He was no reader. But a very few books were on his shelves. Spencer and Milton were his only poetical favorites. His poems were mostly spoken to himself before they were ever written, talked out in his solitary walks, repeated in the hearing of his sister, and by her committed to paper. He could say of himself as he says of the mad mother,

"And she was known to every star
And every wind that blows."

Those most imaginative verses beginning,

"Three years she grew in sun and shower,"

are very typical of his own life.

His passion for nature finds the grandest expression of which he is capable, in his lines written on revisiting Pintern Abbey; which, though penned at the age of twenty-eight, yet, like the master-pieces of many men of genius, whether Othello or Lodi, Comus or Demosthenes against Philip, are at once sunrise and midnight. They may afterward equal those efforts, they cannot surpass them. This remarkable poem blends the rapturous perception of the traits of nature with deeper insight into its meaning, while all this devotion is informed with a feeling which could only be given by intimacy with humanity, reverence for its higher manifestations, and sympathy with its sad experiences. We give a portion of it which expresses the various sentiments we have mentioned:

"Once like the roe
I bounded o'er the mountains, by the sides
Of the deep rivers and the lonely streams,
Wherever nature led. For nature then
To me was all in all. I cannot paint
What then I was. The sounding cataract
Haunted me like a passion. The tall rock,
The mountain, and the deep and gloomy wood,
Their colors and their forms, were then to me
An appetite, a feeling, and a love,
That had no needs of a remoter charm
By thought supplied, or any interest
Unborrowed from the eye. The time is past,
And all its aching joys are now no more,
And all its dizzy raptures. Not for this
Faint I, nor mourn, nor murmur. Other gifts
Have followed, for such loss, I would believe,
Abundant recompense. For I have learned
To look on nature, not as in the hour
Of thoughtless youth; but hearing oftentimes
The still sad music of humanity,
Not harsh and grating, though of ample power
To chasten or subdue. And I have felt
A presence that disturbs me with the joy
Of elevated thoughts, a sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man:
*A motion and a spirit that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
And rolls through all things.* Therefore am I still
A lover of the meadows and the woods

And mountains, of all that we behold
 From this green earth, of all the mighty world
 Of eye and ear, both what they half create
 And half perceive, well pleased to recognize
 In nature and the language of the sense,
 The anchor of my purest thought, the nurse,
 The guide, the guardian of my heart, and soul
 Of all my moral being."

It has been said by some critics, that one who praises nature in this fashion must be a Pantheist, and the attempt has been made to embrace him in the school of Emerson, Goethe, and Shelley, who substitute nature for God. But Wordsworth has left too many proofs of his freedom from this impiety. He was not, as these are,

"A pagan suckled on a creed outworn,"

though he admired the Greeks' regard for nature as it contrasted with the popular disregard and contempt of it in his day, a feeling in which all will sympathize. His Ecclesiastical Sonnets and the discourses of the pastor in the Excursion, attest the sincerity of his piety. His Ode to Duty, (one of the grandest poems in the world,) the closing stanza of the Ode to Sound, and portions of the Evening Voluntaries confirm this, when he says:

"By grace divine,
 Not otherwise, O nature, we are thine."

And again:

"Vain is the pleasure, a false calm the peace,
 If He through whom alone our conflicts cease
 Come not to speed the soul's deliverance."

We have good evidence that their author is a believer in the Christian faith. The very ecstasies with which nature inspires him, if carefully studied, will be found to have no element in them contrary to true, saving faith in Jesus Christ. They are the workings of this mighty and all-surrounding universe on a most sensitive soul, and are in perfect sympathy with His religion, who drew His illustrations almost entirely from the forms of nature, who told us to *consider* the lilies of the field, and watch the clouds of heaven.

We have attempted to show the claims of this poet as a landscape painter of the highest order; as one who, with a power greater than a Claude or Turner, can detect the subtlest charms of nature, and give to their earthly lineaments those spiritual expressions that form a thinking, loving, holy soul. Truly does Whittier say of him:

"He found
 In simple flower, and leaf, and stone,
 The impulse of the sweetest lays
 Our Saxon tongue has known."

The violet by its mossy stone,
The primrose by the river's brim,
And chance some daffodils have found
Immortal life through him."

Other poets of nature have stood without the scenes which they have eulogized; Shakspeare and Milton have much more striking comparisons of natural objects; Tennyson has a far more fastidious taste, and clothes the scenery of an English garden or park in most felicitous imagery. Cowper has a hearty love for nature, but this is far inferior to his love for society. He can discourse on its grandeur or beauty, but he wants to be lying on the sofa, or sipping Mrs. Unwin's tea, or playing in the summer house with his pet hares, and he always turns away from these themes to the sins and follies of society, with an evident satisfaction in the change. Thomson gives you imaginative botany and farming, Darwin botany without the imagination. Neither had a true, self-forgetful passion for nature. Thomson rarely saw the sun rise, and never had the least conception of the mighty power of that resurrection, as it flooded the soul of Wordsworth. He lived in nature; "it was his life," as he says, and his poems are like the inspired utterances of the prophets, who pour forth what flows into them with a conscious submission to an overruling Presence; a submission that does not prevent, but rather secures the most intimate communion.

We may have presented his most eminent and enduring trait, yet he has an additional claim on our notice, if not our regard. He sought not only to delineate the life around, but also that within us. No great poet in any language has so systematically attempted to illustrate in his works every trait of our nature. Shakspeare alone shows the power to execute such designs, and sweeps with wonderful strength and skill, all the chords of human thought and feeling. Yet he does not seem to proceed intentionally to the work of dissection, and of giving such language to every passion as may stand as their perpetual embodiments. Wordsworth, with no dramatic power, and never forgetting himself in his creations, by virtue of the largeness and simplicity of his nature, was enabled to represent all the primary traits of humanity. In his wide-flowing sympathies every creature of God was embraced, and their deepest waters flooded the highest peaks of this lower creation—the human soul. Homer sought for his deities in the visible creation, but as separate from it. The tree was not a god, though a god might be in it; and the god of trees had no marked distinction from, or identity with, the god of the waters. Apollo, Juno, Jupiter, all had superhuman powers, but most human frailties. All were alike in heart, though

differing in office and strength. Milton cast his mighty vision beyond nature, beyond man formed into the image of God, and with purged eyes of the spirit sought to see him as he is, unmodified, unsubdued by the atmosphere of creation. Wordsworth, like Moses before the burning bush, worshiped the Spirit that inflames all worlds and the minutest point with his presence:

"That, as an essence of pervading light,
Shines in the brightest of ten thousand stars,
And the meek worm, that feeds her lonely lamp
Couched in the dewy grass."

This made not only the earth to be holy ground; every path where creative power has trod was equally sanctified; and those were imbued the most with deity, inspired the most reverence, and created the most regard, that were symbols of his highest attributes. Hence humanity had the highest place in his affections; hence he studied carefully and lovingly its traits, and devoted his genius to their illustration.

Believing, however, that the popular sentiments of society were not representative of the real characteristics of the race, he took for subjects of his verse, those whose condition of life would seem to preclude such malformations. He selected the wild flowers of humanity, thinking that they alone had its essential elements fittingly developed. This idea he carried so far that he thought not only their feelings, but their thoughts and language, the only true forms of human life, and thus commenced re-enacting as a poet the Rousseauism of the previous French generation; the savage is the perfect man, barbarism the perfect society. His earlier writings having this character, must have met, as a matter of course, with the overwhelming ridicule of a formal and fastidious age.

His first book, the *Lyrical Ballads*, was a poetical protest against every popular idea of the society into which it was sent. His subjects were the most common and countrified that could be chosen. The treatment of them was equally simple and unfashionable, and every air of the new candidate for the laureate crown was like one

"Not shaped for sportive tricks,
Nor made to court an amorous looking-glass."

The town might have gazed with such curiosity on this poetical savage, as is customary when acknowledged barbarities pass before its novel-seeking eyes; but when they saw him claim to be their superior, and even their guide to states of human feeling that proved the falsity of their ruling sentiments, their indignation knew no bounds. And their rage was not lessened because the faint movings

of real feeling and judgment, that the false art of existing society had not destroyed, told them he was in the main right. They saw that those homespun robes of words clad limbs of symmetry and strength. Phrases, in these earliest ballads, of the highest imagination, a simplicity that was evidently the child of profoundest culture, a heartiness that made the verses thrill with sensibility, showed them that genius was in that brain. He was a true prophet, they felt, though wearing a raiment of camel's hair and a leathern girdle, and feeding, without silver forks or French preparatives, on the native wild food of the soul. They strove to drown these convictions with roars of inextinguishable laughter. Had it been told these wits and critics, that he would be crowned with poetic honors at Oxford, and bear the royal laureate's harp, they would have said that Jefferson, the Democrat, would be the ruler of England, and Jack Cade his prime minister, in that degenerate era. Yet, despite the almost universal ridicule of the literary, and complete indifference of the masses, some heard a voice the world did not hear, some saw a hand it did not see; and hearing and seeing, they bowed in reverence and love. Coleridge had united with him in this publication, and gave then an opinion which he never altered, that Wordsworth was the greatest man of the age, and that Milton and Shakespeare were his only peers in the English language. Southey reverently recognized his eminent genius. Lamb was one of his heartiest worshippers. Wilson, afterward the famous Kit North of Blackwood, was his loving pupil and eloquent defender. Thus, an audience, "fit though few," gathered with listening love around this oracle of nature and of man. Book followed book slowly, and with but slight alteration in the general sentiment. Jeffrey aimed his keenest darts at them; they glanced from the mark, and pierced and slew the reputation of the critic; for the loss of his fame was chiefly attributable to his failure to perceive any excellence in Wordsworth. Byron hurled at him his poisoned arrows, and then stole from him the finest pictures of natural scenery which adorn his works. Amid all this storm of denunciation, he moved forward in serenity of soul, solitary, humble, self-sufficient, the most self-relying man in an age memorable for daring and self-confident genius. In portraying Milton, he not unaptly, perhaps not unconsciously, drew himself:

"Thy soul was like a star, and dwelt apart.
Thou hadst a voice whose sound was like the sea:
Pure as the native heavens, majestic, free.
So didst thou travel on life's common way
In cheerful godliness; and yet thy heart
The lowliest duties on herself did lay."

Many of those little ballads the world now has by heart. Others it will learn as it grows humbler and holier. The little child in "We are Seven," has led many a strong man into the sentiments of his earlier, better day. The Pet Lamb is the pet of many a heart. Poor Goody Blake has made many shiver in sympathy with her sufferings, and join in her prayer on her persecutor. The perfect life-likeness of the scene; the clear, cold moon, the creeping, covetous watcher, the stumbling dame picking up the ragged splinters, the fierce grasp and coarse, hard cry of joy, are they not wrought into the texture of every sensitive heart that has read them? And the scene that followed in that icy air, under that icy moon, how full of pathos, truth, and religion:

"Then Goody, who had nothing said,
Her bundle from her lap let fall,
And kneeling on her sticks, she prayed
To God, who is the judge of all.
She prayed, her withered hand uprearing,
(While Harry held her by the arm,)
'God, who art never out of hearing,
O may he never more be warm!'"

What else could happen than did happen?

"The cold, cold moon above her head,
Thus on her knees did Goody pray,
Young Harry heard what she had said,
And icy cold he turned away."

Does not the blood curdle as the freezing air of these lines runs through us? The two principles on which this poem is built are found in all his ballads. First, the strict adherence to veritable fact; not one of them is a fancy sketch. Second, a sketching of natural scenes and human sentiments, which are as universal as the earth and man. He does not go into the house and paint it, but into the house of nature, into the house where every heart dwells, and draws their creatures. How different Tennyson's *Mary Anne* in the *Moated Grange*, from Wordsworth's *Thorn*. The former catches the refrain of the latter, but builds up around it a dreamy, haunted, desolate English house, with scenery outside and in, which is only familiar to English readers. Wordsworth, as much in England as he, and the scene of his story laid there, makes a woeful ballad that every age and clime can and will understand and feel. All his portrayals of human feeling have these traits, fidelity to the simple facts of the story, fidelity to the natural feelings and language of the personages. They are usually couched in an easy moving measure, that preserves at once the flow of pleasure and of tears. They are sketched with the colorless crayon, not with gaudy paints; or rather

with the fine pencil line of Flaxman, who gives marvelous life by one stroke of the pencil, as a master of words by one immortal expression. Even the repetitions which he and Coleridge revived in our literature amid the immense scorn of their cotemporaries, and which Tennyson and Longfellow have since so largely employed, these repetitions greatly simplify and intensify their power.

How the cry of the poor maniac, rocking and moaning on the bleak hill, beside the lovely grave, pierces our ears!

"O misery! O misery!
O woe is me! O misery!"

Others equally impressive abound in his writings.

If he had stopped here he would have shown himself a great artist and great hearted. Two additional steps, one of art, one of feeling, show the height of his genius. These stories are covered with imagination as with a garment; a robe pure and thin as that which covered the earth on that cold, still night, or warm and living as that on which the little boat in Peter Bell floated through the heavens, clothes all these ballads. And through it all, as the light through the air, moves and shines the moral of the tale. Hardly one but what is as clear and pointed as the most faithful sermon. By thus carrying the unblemished offering to the altar, it becomes divine. The ways of God are taught and justified, the heart is softened, the life purified.

Many single stanzas embody all these traits: faithfulness to natural events and feelings, sweep of the imagination, and strength of the moral sentiments. How perfect the following picture. No relique of Percy surpasses it in simplicity, or equals it in variety and intensity of feeling:

"She dwelt among the untrodden ways
Beside the springs of Dove,
A maid, whom there were none to praise,
And very few to love.

"A violet by a mossy stone,
Half hidden from the eye,
Fair as a star, when only one
Is shining in the sky.

"She lived unknown, and few could know
When Lucy ceased to be,
But she is in her grave—and O
The difference to me!"

So the feelings that cling around the dead body of a friend that seem to grow from it, in rank but offensive weeds, have seldom found elsewhere a more ghastly expression than in these lines:

"No motion has she now, no force,
 She neither hears nor sees;
 Roll'd round in earth's diurnal course
 With rocks, and stones, and trees."

While he can lay no claim to a certain kind of dramatic genius, which Scott, in his novels, and Shakspeare, and Homer, and few others of that class possess, he can assert an equality even with them in his power to make the common wants, and woes, and joys of man his own, and to reproduce them in such narratives as will give them life as long as our affections and afflictions endure. We are crying after the naturalness of the ancient ballad. Fancy critics are evermore asserting the degeneracy of the age, because these simple stories are less simply told. The generations after us will point to the Lyrical Ballads of Wordsworth, and to other narratives scattered through his works, as far surpassing those ancient songs in all the qualities of a perfect tale. Simple, solemn, sad, with a strength of imagination that lifts them up into the regions of highest mental action, the rarest air of loftiest vision, and makes them like Bunyan's Pilgrim, the beloved of the cottage and palace, the child and the sage. The story of Margaret, at the beginning of the Excursion, bleeds at every vein with sorrow and despair. The terror of the idiot's mother, and his half-brutish glee, the story of Michael, the Brothers, Peter Bell's Life, Conviction and Conversion, Laodamia, a Greek statue of love and duty, full of a controlled yet mighty life, as Pygmalion's statue before the inward motions had yet turned the outward marble to flesh, the Cumberland Beggar, in his helplessness and his strength; these and many others will preserve their creator to the remotest generations, as the most faithful and capable of all narrators of

"The short and simple annals of the poor."

An annalist that so presents the subjects of his tale that you entertain them with a power of kindred sympathy, such as he felt in listening to the entreaties of Barbara Lewthwait, as she bent over her struggling lamb:

"She looked with such a look, and she spoke with such a tone,
 That I almost received her heart into mine own."

The great defect in his poetry is, that he gives us all the connecting links of his great thoughts, so that we travel over much common ground amid tame and familiar scenery, to get glimpses of the marvels of beauty and sublimity that occasionally line the way. This is not an unusual defect even of the first order of minds. "*Quando Homerus dormitat*," and when awake he says much that

the tamest rhythmist could have said as well. Shakspeare has long stretches of commonest thought and language. Milton delights to lead us off into metaphysical thickets and along the dusty highways of daily speech. Foster says many things as novelties which had been said before him, and in much more impressive style. Webster has pages that give no token of his powers. Men of that strong and solid type are far from any nervousness when they seize the pen. If the subject and occasion draw on their reservoirs, an ocean rolls forth; if not, their stream of speech flows slow, and calm, and cool. Many writers of this spasmodic school, even those of eminent talents and fame, like the French authors of celebrity, must always speak in *bon mots*; or, like some of the early enthusiasts of the West, have no faith in any higher mental life, as the religious, which does not express itself in jerks. Those who expect the first verse of a poem to act like the first draught of high wines on a novice, and every succeeding verse to increase the intoxication, will turn away from Wordsworth with disgust. Even his strength is to them weakness; for it is as the strength of natural forces, air, water, earth, so quiet and self-poised that the superficial observer might deny its existence. This native tendency, which he shares with many other eminences in literature, to speak his whole mind in its more common as well as stranger thoughts, was increased perhaps in him because of his seclusion from society, making all his thoughts agreeable companions in his solitude, because he was accustomed to compose his poems in his walks, and the *ad unguem* finish was not consistent with the improvising manner of their creation, but chiefly because he loved common sights, and hence common words, common ideas. All these were to him "appareled in celestial light," and he had no desire to exclude them from his published utterances. The common way was always beautiful. Familiar objects never lost to him "that sense sublime of something far more deeply interfused." These portions of the route he asks you to follow were not, as in the others, through weariness or sleepiness of his brain, but with a feeling of their value and beauty to those who, having eyes, see. It will be found, indeed, that this criticism is based on far narrower grounds than the vehemence with which it is urged would suggest. There are many of his poems, and those among the longest, that have a sustained energy and beauty that only the highest action of his mind could have produced; and though these level ways are at times trodden, where not a poetical image may occur for many lines, the good sense, which Coleridge says is "the body of poetic genius," and the good feeling which animates that sense and gives mellifluous ease to the verse, make these portions far less tedious

than the strained gait of those who imitate continually the rarer course of a more judicious minister, who broke the easy pace of his sermon with, "Brethren, shall I startle you? I will for one moment." If we read him as we do other favorites, with a sympathy which makes us watch lovingly his every motion, we shall find most of these barren downs are spring prairies, glowing and waving with unspeakable life.

Another fault charged against him is the lowness of his language. There seemed some ground for this charge in a few of his earlier poems. Yet these exceptional cases, if they were erroneous, which is far from certain, were soon abandoned by him. He never again shocked the Rosa Matildas of the reviews with such words as closed the first line of the original "We are Seven:"

"A little child, dear brother *Jim*."

Albeit these same fastidious readers larded their dayly talk, and even much of their public writings, with far coarser phrases. This and the measurement of the Mountain Pond he expurgated from latter editions; his only submission to the demands of these heresiarchs, and which did not secure their alliance nor stay their loud-mouthed baying. It will be found that so far from being rustic in his style, no writer of his day, courtly Scott, careful Southey, profuse Byron, nor any since, have wrought the English language into stronger and more nervous sentences. More new combinations can be found in Wordsworth than in Carlyle. But in the former they are the neat and natural clothing of original ideas; in the latter the Meg Merrilies grotesqueness with which common rags are strikingly arranged. He was uncommonly particular as to his language; and though it lacked the fanciful finish of a mere wordmonger, the Solomons of pompous diction, in all their glory, were not arrayed in the beauty and strength of his native verse. We are confident a deeper study of this author will show us that, with Addison, Chaucer, Burke, and a very few besides of his countrymen, he stands, the molder and fashioner of his national speech, in a style she will more and more appreciate, and, so far as possible, imitate.

We find him to be the philosophical poet of the English language. No man in all its history can take this crown from him. He, chiefest, almost alone, has discoursed on the highest unrevealed themes that appear before our minds. He has searched with "humble-lidded eyes" through the creation without and within, despising neither its outer forms that weary every eye, nor the smallest atoms, to which they may ultimately be reduced. As an apple, a bone, the

small dust of the balance, the least particle of resolved matter, awakens the great students of nature at once to the boldest analogies and the deepest reverence, so the least of the phenomena of matter and spirit wrought in him.

With Hartley Coleridge, we can truly affirm of him,

"Many are the smooth, elaborate tribe
Who, emulous of thee, the shape describe,
And fain would every shifting hue portray
Of restless nature. But, thou mighty seer!
'Tis thine to celebrate the thoughts that make
The life of souls, the truths for whose sweet sake
We to ourselves, and to our God are dear.
Of nature's inner shrine thou art the priest,
Where most she works when we perceive her least."

None but Wordsworth could constantly say,

"To me the meanest flower that grows can give
Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears."

None but he has so identified himself with the simplest exercises of affectionate nature as to suffer the ignominy with which vain-glorious minds regard them. None but he seems to grasp the law that underlies the whole plan and work of God before our eyes of sense and soul, and to work out that law in its varied forms with its unchanging essence. And though thus alive even to its lowest expressions, he never lost sight of the vast superiority of man over them all. To such a degree does he carry this recognition, that in his Ode on the Intimations of Immortality, the most remarkable of all his writings, he gives the soul a pre-existence, not, like Beecher's, of sin, but of holiness and bliss. And he conceives the body and earth that surrounds it, but as a "muddy vesture of decay," glorified like the earthly robes of the Transfigured Christ by the spirit within.

"Our life is but a sleep and a forgetting;
The soul that rises with us, our life's star,
Hath had elsewhere its setting,
And cometh from afar.
Not in entire forgetfulness,
And not in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory do we come
From God, who is our home."

And this same soul, thus endowed at its rising, he carries in the Fourth Book of the Excursion through all the teachings of this life natural, human, historical, and eternal; ever the equal of their highest *created* suggestions, ever the master of all less than man, till he closes his array of the forces it subdues to its own development, by the following sublime passage:

"So build we up the being that we are.
 Thus deeply drinking in the soul of things
 We shall be wise per force; and while inspired
 By choice, and conscious that the will is free,
 Unswerving shall we move, as if impelled
 By strict necessity along the path
 Of order and of good. Whate'er we see,
 Whate'er we feel, by agency direct
 Or indirect, shall tend to feed and nurse
 Our faculties, shall fix in calmer seats
 Of moral strength, and raise to loftier heights
 Of love divine, our intellectual soul."

We have presented before our readers one whose name has not yet become the household word it deserves to be, whose spirit has not assumed that control over the educated, and especially the ministerial mind, that it should and yet will have. The clouds of contempt that his earlier cotemporaries cast around him, are gradually disappearing. He looms up before our apprehensive eyes in his true majesty, not perched on the stilts of self-conceit, not raised on the head of deluded and ignorant worshipers, not blown thither by the breath of transitory applause, but grown to that exaltation by the natural workings of his soul, grown by the assimilation into his nature of the God-given aliment prepared for it; not medicinal herbs, nor food corrupted to a gourmand's taste, but the true bread which cometh down from heaven, though gathered, like the sacred manna, from the earth's surface in earthly vessels for earthly use. The extracts we have given, more numerous than they would have been from a more popular writer, far less than they should have been to give any estimate of the variety and fullness, the tenderness and strength, the minuteness and breadth of his powers, and yet sufficient, we trust, to lead those who have read them to cultivate a further intimacy. The frequency with which lines of his adorn the writings of the day, (for he is already more quoted than any other poet except Shakspeare,) show that his hope and assurance of immortality was not a phantom of a vain-glorious brain, but a sentiment based on the endurance of the essential elements of our nature, on which he built his lofty rhyme, and to which it was constantly addressed, notwithstanding the momentary sway of false theories and passions.

Well may we say in the growing brightness of his fame, as Coleridge with prophetic vision sung, when its first glimmering smote the hostile and turbulent darkness:

"O great bard,
 E'er yet that last strain dying awed the air,
 With steadfast eye I viewed thee in the choir
 Of ever-enduring men.

Not less a sacred roll than those of old,
And to be placed as they with gradual fame
Among the archives of mankind, thy works
Make audible a linked lay of truth,
Of truth profound, a sweet, continuous lay,
Not learn'd, but native, her own natural robes."

To arrive at the stature of a perfect man, among our *uninspired*, but not unprofitable guides, we must take not only the great minds of Greece, who, in the darkness of heathenism, wrought mental structures of marvelous beauty and truth, not only Shakspeare, the myriad-minded, and Milton, the rapt archangel, that with veiled eyes sings before the burning throne, but him who, with an equally searching eye, pierces all the folds of human and inferior nature, with a comprehension equally vast, harmonizes their contraries, beautifies their harmony, and with reverence, meekness, and piety, equally divine, sees and shows over all these works of God, that holiness which as an atmosphere fills not alone his throne, the heaven of heavens, but this earth his footstool.

ART. III.—CHILDHOOD LITERATURE.

IN the world of letters there is the same relation between demand and supply as in art and commerce. All imperative wants in literature have hitherto been met. Has the world demanded a great poem? A genius has speedily appeared whose great conceptions, assuming the form of numbers, have become the cherished possessions of the race. Have the present and the future seemed to assemble in any age to hear an oration upon a question affecting the interests of men? They have not stood waiting long, until some man of extraordinary gifts of mind has come forth to bestow undying eloquence upon the world. It is by calculating the wants of the world, rather than by estimating the powers of men, that we may foreknow something of the great literary labors which will be performed in each age. The human mind is great in its compass; its utmost limits have not been traced. Its power has never yet been fully tested. The direction which it shall take, and the deeds it shall perform, are determined by the demands of the time. What is the great literary want of the world now? What does the public mind need at this stage of its develop-

ment? What are vacant corners in the world's libraries, which wait to be filled with unwritten books? Of what kind is the ungathered fruit which will reward the toil of harvesters who enter the field at this eleventh hour?

The age does not demand *History*. The annals of the world have all been written. Men are now needed to *do* actions worthy of record, and not to become historians. None of the present men are prepared to write a history of existing times; and the golden harvests of the past have all been gathered by those whose names have thus become immortal.

This century does not require a *Poem*. Men do not expect any greater epics than the great productions of Homer and Milton. Glorious notes from these old masters roll sublimely on the world's ear, from distant ages; and she desires that all present voices should be hushed, that she may better hear the olden harmonies.

Though the world has continual need of being instructed in the truth, she has no lack now of works on *Theology*. The wonderful chain of Divine revelation was put together, link by link, many centuries ago. The world's greatest and most imperative demand was met when the Bible was given to man. Perhaps human tongue will never more be permitted to speak by inspiration from Heaven. Hence all the thoughts which men hereafter have must be the result of human reason alone. Nothing essentially new can be developed. People of Christian lands have light enough to show them their relations and their destiny. They have motives enough to impel them to walk in the path of duty, and lead lives of faith. They need nothing more to make them ultimately happy.

The world does not ask imperatively for works on *Science*. Truth, indeed, has not been all discovered and brought to light. Perhaps this may never be fully accomplished at any period in the future; but, doubtless, all the facts which men of science know have been published. The world cannot demand works to elucidate truths of which she has no conception. All truth which is entirely unknown, is as far from being tangible by our desires and aspirations, as the new ideas which would be revealed by a sixth sense. This world is not an old Egyptian despot, to require bricks when no material is at hand to make them. Besides, science is something more than a mere abstraction. She makes her own great publications. When she has a new truth to reveal, she makes it known through the medium of her favored sons, regardless of what the world is doing or demanding.

Hence a work on science is not required. In the libraries is now stored all the truth that is known. If the author desires to take

up this truth, to adorn it with the graces of style, and make it more convenient for circulation, he may do so, and win great fame thereby; but his labors are all at his own risk.

Perhaps we may not be able to select any one of the great departments of intellectual labor which now needs to be especially promoted. It may be that a combination of all, forming some new development peculiar to modern times, is what the world is now waiting for. When we desire to determine of what kind, and in what degree, must be the ingredients of this combination, an important question arises: For what class should literary labor now be performed?

Modern literature is eminently practical. "*Pro bono publico*" is a phrase by which is described the great aim of literary labor. Whether this results from the genuine philanthropy of authors, or from the supposition that this is the surest way to earn fame and money, is a query which it requires deep insight into human motives to determine. In either case, thought, in all its departments, is taking a human tendency. Romances and poems are written ostensibly for the same end as sermons. Modern literature, like the ancient Atlas, endeavors to bear the world on its shoulders. Memory now makes it her work to keep a faithful record of all the wrongs and sorrows which the human race endures. Imagination unites them in every variety of color and form. Reason, upon great social premises, deduces conclusions which bear upon the coming destinies of the race.

What part of the world's various populations now calls upon authors for the labor of their minds? Let the true answer to this question be known, and the overmastering humanity in literature will at once direct it into the appropriate channel.

Literature has for ages devoted its energies to promoting the interests of the wealthy and aristocratic classes. Wealth has often laid its treasures at the feet of genius; and the latter, in return, has bestowed gifts more precious than gold. One of the greatest epics which the world possesses was made to gratify the pride of imperial Augustus. The poet's lyre and the historian's pen have magnified the virtues of kings and the exploits of heroes. The wandering minstrels of old, and the poets-laureate of modern times, have not failed to keep the world aware of the prerogatives of royal races. No arguments which the greatest intellects could discover to prove the divine right of kings has been undeveloped. No words have remained unspoken, by orator or poet, which would make kings appear more sacred in the eyes of the people, and render subjects content with their lowly lot.

In recent years, perhaps, the poorer classes have had their share of literary attention. Many men of genius have arisen from the humble walks of life; and, in their greatness, have not forgotten to use their powers to benefit their brethren by blood and sympathy. "The Short and Simple Annals of the Poor" have lengthened and multiplied into libraries. The most popular productions of modern times are those which describe the sorrows of the children of penury and want. There is now a distinct department of literature devoted especially to the interests of those who were long "to fortune and to fame unknown."

In every period known to history, men have held their brethren in bondage. Slaves in too many lands and climes have toiled for interests other than their own. One of the greatest means of breaking every yoke, and letting the oppressed go free, will be the wide diffusion of truth through the medium of the press. Genius seems convinced of the great part which it must act in the liberation of humanity; hence many earnest books have recently been written to call attention to the afflictions of the slave. The bondsman has not been neglected. He is now the client of many eloquent and powerful pleaders.

Neither rich, nor poor, nor enslaved, have any especial claims on the labors of literary men to promote their interests.

There is a larger class than any of these, which has more claims than they all, upon the literary labors of the nineteenth century. This class is confined to no land, no clime, no age. It peoples every village and city, every island and continent. It speaks with a silvery voice, and is learning all the languages of earth. Its step is light, but as a conquering army it moves on, invading all the high places of the earth. Soon it will occupy all the thrones, wear all the crowns, sway all the scepters. It will stand in every foothold and situation from the cottage to the palace. In this class are minds of the first brilliancy, destined to possess incalculable power. They are the architects of the world's future greatness. They are a company of laborers, who, with fresh and vigorous powers, will soon enter upon their arduous toil.

Children compose this wonderful class. Their "many infant feet, so small and sylph-like," are not experienced in the ways of life. Their minds are not laden with the wisdom of the world. They have been much neglected in all past ages; and now seem of right to demand, with emphasis, the attention of the literary world.

Literature has had small effect, compared with what it might have had; and one reason is, that its teachings have been directed too

much toward mature minds and hard hearts. Its words have not been spoken until Mammon's altar has been set up in the heart; and the babblings of the world's commerce have driven all other voices from the audience-chamber of the soul. Then the time is all made into business hours; and worldly thought, like a strong man armed, has entered the brain, and spoiled its goods. Then the truths of religion or of science may desire to hold converse with the soul, but it has other engagements. High and noble conceptions may ask to occupy the soul; but the rooms are all held by tenants who pay rent promptly in golden dollars. But let literature, assuming a garb of especial adaptedness, actuated by a heart of sympathy, meet the soul in the morning of life, take the trustful hand of childhood, and speak words of simplicity and truth. The child will walk slowly at first; but it may one day become an Æneas, who shall bear his foster-father high on his manly shoulders.

A child is the only genuine learner. Let a man enter upon subjects which are ever so new, and he will flatter himself that every idea he obtains was possessed by him in some form before. But to the child all things are new, all things original. The world is a new creation, and all the senses are avenues by which its wonders gain access to the soul. It has been said that during the first five years of life the mind gains more knowledge of external things than in all the after life. Then the faculties are quick and active. The mind is eager to obtain truth, and ready to reward with gratitude any who may add to its intellectual wealth.

Centuries ago a wise man said, "There is nothing new under the sun." This thought has doubtless hedged with discouragement the paths of many who have sought to gather laurels in the fields of literature and science. But to a child, thoughts which have occupied the minds of men since the world began are new and strange. He who tells old ideas to a new mind, impressively and well, occupies a place but a little below him who first discovers important truth, and publishes it to the world.

In all former ages too small a share of attention was bestowed upon children. Each mature generation was too intently occupied in its own wars and conquests, to be much concerned for those who should fight the battles and gain the victories of the succeeding age. But the warlike spirit has in some measure passed away, and the present is pre-eminently a commercial age. Lust for wealth is the all-absorbing passion; and while in this excessive development its tendency is in the main unfavorable, it produces some good results. The disciple of Mammon cares more for his children than did the son of Mars. He spends his time in gathering wealth; and in this

pursuit he employs the faculties of mind and body. Yet in his meditative moments he knows that life must soon end. He is naturally anxious to know whose hands shall hold his gold when he is dead. He looks upon his children as the future possessors of his property. This circumstance invests them with a new interest, and throws a peculiar charm around their lives. Through his children he expects in some manner to live on, and enjoy his hard-won riches when his grasping hand is nerveless in the grave, and his unsatisfied heart has ceased its worldly longings. Hence the very spirit of the age excites new interest in behalf of the young. Many men and women labor from day-dawn till evening twilight, during the best years of life, that they may bestow wealth upon their children. This interest should in no degree be diminished, but somewhat changed in its direction. Let it become wider and deeper. It will require only some change of heart, and a better insight into human destiny on the part of parents, to induce them to give a portion of the attention, which they now bestow upon temporary interests, to the culture of mind and soul.

Eighteen hundred years ago our Lord said, "Suffer little children to come unto me." His hand was an index directing the world's attention to the young. To this, however, little heed has been given. In all subsequent centuries, the world has practically forbidden children to enter the golden gate, which the Redeemer opened for them. Men, with harsh and incredulous tone, have loudly asserted that they were too young to be admitted to the enjoyment of such extraordinary privileges. In modern times, by some extraordinary manifestations, Heaven has done much to rid the world of such erroneous conceits. In many instances, the youthful mind has shown a wonderful precocity. More than one child in this century has astonished professors of mathematics by its wonderful deeds with numbers. Youthful feet have run with amazing swiftness along the flowery paths of poesy, and have threaded very far the labyrinths of science.

It is proverbial that precocious children die early; but they never pass away until they have performed a mission of no small importance. They show our worldly and unbelieving souls what fragrant, early flowers might bloom in the gardens of humanity, with judicious culture. They are practical rebukes to mankind for long and sinful neglect. They are like the few grains of golden sand washed up on a river-shore of the far West, which showed that vast mines of wealth could be found by seeking. Many minds, heeding this indication, should abandon their old and unproductive employments, to labor in the new fields of intellect and heart which

are now open before them. Such laborers have great reason to expect that a harvest will be gathered of far greater value than all their expended toil.

There are many peculiarities in the child's mind, which make labor upon it very productive. The *Memory* is retentive. Events then absorb the soul so fully, that they seem almost a part of its existence. Time may utterly efface from the recollection of many, things which were as familiar as household words, in after years; but upon the events of childhood it has little influence. The old man, as he looks backward, cannot see clearly through the mists which rest over his middle life; but far away the evening sun shines brightly on the fields where he walked in youth. Impressions may be made upon the mind in childhood which nothing can efface. The years may work many changes upon the affections of the heart and the aspirations of the soul. The heart may seem very cold and worldly; but it will sometimes steal away from the turmoil of the present to hear the words which, spoken in childhood, have echoed ever since in the chambers of the soul. Faithful lessons, taught in youth, sometimes produce their richest fruits when parents and teachers are no more on earth. George Washington's father taught him the great doctrine of Divine Providence, by the sowing of seeds in his garden. No technical language was used, no obscure symbols were employed. The child's mind grasped the doctrine which learned infidels have rejected as too incredible for their belief, and too mysterious for their comprehension. That one truth thoroughly impressed upon the boy's mind, was worth more to him than a landed estate or a kingly crown. It was not forgotten by him in those years of battle, when he was called to lead the fragmentary army of a people weak in wealth, experience, and arms. It did more for him than ambition did for Alexander, or destiny did for Napoleon. That trust in the Almighty, which he learned from his early lesson and later experience, doubtless made him victorious in war, and rendered his name immortal.

Imagination in childhood is quite different from that of a trained and disciplined mind in after years. The thoughts and fancies then manifested remind us of the childhood of the world, when imagination was the predominant faculty of nations. Birds seemed messengers of good or evil omen. Spiritual beings were supposed to throng every fountain, stream, and wood. Imagination sometimes usurps the place of memory, and performs some of the duties of its office. In later years it throws a light and beauty over childhood, which it did not seem to possess when its

slow hours were passing by. The sorrows are nearly all forgotten, and every pleasure is clad with new beauty when seen in the combined light of imagination and memory. But imagination goes even beyond this. Taking up the narratives and tales which were often heard in the nursery, it makes them a part of the experience; and the mind seems to have beheld scenes of which it has only heard the description. The writer has known a man, who could not persuade himself that he did not remember many events in the history of his family which occurred before he was born. He had heard these scenes described so frequently by parents and friends, that they presented themselves whenever he looked back upon his early life, and seemed to form a part of his own history.

Words spoken in the ear of childhood are more than images of thought; they possess many of the attributes of real things. They are replete with warm and earnest meaning. The unsuspecting soul has no conception of falsehood or deceit. All things are true. Deception has found no hiding-place in any portion of the trustful heart. Words are not then "cunning devices to conceal thought." Giants, witches, and fairies, all have a true existence. They pass and repass through the years of childhood, and cast their long, dark shadows just as living beings. Even after the manly mind has assumed the scepter, and driven away many of the childish fancies, some of the wonders remain, as the mists sometimes lie in the valley long after the sunrise. This shows how well the youthful mind might be pervaded by the good, the beautiful, and true; how the firmament of childhood might be set with radiant and eternal stars. We cannot doubt that beautiful and excellent realities might throng the soul in such multitudes, that idle fancies and unprofitable whims would find no resting-place.

Childhood is the time to supply the mind with many ideas which the imagination especially aids to grasp and comprehend. There are truths in the Bible and religion which the young mind can receive with more implicit trust and better faith than after the faculties have become blunted by contact with the world. There are subjects which, if seen in the light of childhood's morning, and made the subjects of study in youth, will stand forth more distinct and beautiful in all after years, than if suddenly beheld for the first time amid the hurry and bustle of active life. Perhaps the reason why many persons complain over-much of the mysteries of the Bible, is that they did not commence their investigation until the period when the mind is unable to regard wonders

with the right spirit. Great truths have suddenly shone forth with all their splendor, and dazzled with their brilliancy; whereas, if they had dawned gradually and appropriately in the morning, and had only grown brighter as the day of life advanced, the soul would see clearly, where it is now oppressed with doubt; and perhaps would walk straightforward, where it must now stop and labor long to overcome obstacles and remove obstructions. Many truths of the Bible might early be ingrafted, and by careful culture be made a part of the mind itself. They would be accompanied by all the pleasing associations of early days. Religion thus interwoven with the recollections of early life would never entirely lose its influence over the heart, though it should afterward wander very far in sin.

While we would have truth bestowed upon the young mind, we would not follow the advice of the extreme utilitarian. While remaining within the bounds of truth and reason in the authorship of children's books, it is not necessary that we place in their small hands ponderous volumes on science. They need not read works on medicine or law. We would not attempt to direct their inexperienced feet into the dimly-lighted valley of abstract speculation; nor would we commit them to the guardianship of any "Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge." Successful as such corporations may be in collecting facts, they are not skillful in molding the human mind.

Education is not the possession of any number of facts or truths. A mind may be educated without having an inexhaustible fund of knowledge. What the mind needs is harmonious and systematic development; and the system which will promote this, although it may not leave in the memory one practical truth, will nevertheless accomplish a great result.

Fiction is sometimes true, and facts are false. Facts may be so marvelous as to overtax our powers of belief, and so bad as to be false to our sense of propriety and right. There are whole classes of facts which would have an unfavorable influence on the mind, should they be known. Fiction may be true to our experience, and true in portraying the aspirations and tendencies of the human heart. It is often just in its delineation of characters, though no human being may have said the words or done the deeds ascribed to them. Right fiction is true in the moral which it imperceptibly and irresistibly instills. The Progress of Bunyan's Pilgrim from the City of Destruction to the Celestial Country, is at the same time the most wildly false and solemnly true of any human composition. We would not shut out children from the flowery fields of fancy.

Let them be led by kind and skillful hands through its delightful groves, and by the side of its silver streams, taking in new beauties at every step, and insensibly growing into the mental and moral stature appropriate to the future activities of life. Literature for children must undoubtedly be in part composed of fiction. Let it not be the wild romance, which has too often entered the brain and driven away more sober thoughts. Let it be genial and thoughtful, taking cheerful and consistent views of humanity.

The youthful mind delights in scenes and events. It has so recently entered the world, that the faculties are all eager to learn the doings, thoughts, and feelings of men. In order to satisfy this demand it will be necessary to enter the domain of fancy. Truth is inexhaustible, and were it known in all its forms and varieties, there would be no need of looking elsewhere to satisfy the soul's longing after wonder. Events are daily transpiring among men which bear witness to the fact that "truth is stranger than fiction." But the masses have not learned to describe, and the literary man sees but little of the active world. It would be fruitless for him to go wandering over the earth in search of facts. By sitting in his study, and forming some of those infinite combinations which actions and ideas admit, he can still be true to nature, and benefit his readers with many ennobling and useful views of life.

Authorship for the young requires good talent. Moderate abilities are more available in any other department of literature than in this. If the author who writes for mature minds commits errors, his experienced reader may see them, and avoid the evil influence. There may be inaccuracies in arrangement, style, and argument; but when the mind is strong, and its habits of thought are formed, the unfavorable results are comparatively few. There may be errors in doctrine and precept; but the mind skilled to reason can avoid the unfavorable effects. But upon the child the influence of the inaccurate author is only evil. All his false assertions and evil words have their influence upon the youthful mind. Every instance of inaccurate style tends to deform the growing powers. Hence the writer for the young should be one who falls into few errors, and sins seldom or never against the laws of literary propriety.

None but a man of deep learning and profound thought knows the nature and laws of mind. In childhood these laws operate with greatest force, undisturbed by education and habit. Mental philosophy frequently refers to the sayings and doings of children, as inductive proof of its propositions. He who has the best understanding of the laws of mind, combined with tact, skill,

and experience, will be most successful in making a lasting impression upon the young. This author should have a critical knowledge of the capacities and powers of language, such as is not obtained by the study of our vernacular alone. This is acquired by going to those ancient fountains whence streams of intellectual life have flowed through all subsequent ages. Words should be studied as used by the renowned writers of antiquity. Much of the learning of childhood is merely verbal. Words are often impressed upon the memory long before the mind learns the full extent of their meaning. They are taken up, investigated, and fully understood in after years. Then they have the more importance, because of the associations which are connected with them.

The mind which becomes the source of literary treasures for the young, should be under the influence of Christianity. No one can successfully place motives before any being until he knows something of its destination. None but the Christian truly understands the destiny of the soul. No one who has become aroused to the solemn weight and importance of the future can regard a child as the mere insect of an hour. He regards it as a being who shall be present at the inauguration and exit of all the cycles of eternity. He looks upon it as possessing a life which shall grow deeper and wider as it flows through all the hereafter. He sees it endowed with an identity which no contingency can destroy.

In the family of Christ the purest members are little children. Hence the Christian author is bound by very peculiar relationship to them. He writes with a zeal and interest which he can only have for those in whose hopes and destinies he has some share.

Sympathy is the great means of power with him who wields an influence over his fellow-men. It is the great instrumentality of the popular writer. He forms a strong alliance with his readers. There is no cold and formal distance. A life-giving current flows from his mind to theirs, bearing health and beauty to the spirit of his remotest and most transient reader. He has a warm affection for every member of the great republic, confederated by the bonds of his thought. Such an author is much greater than a monarch, since he enters more deeply into the hearts and minds of his readers than a king with his subjects. Influenced by the deep sympathies of his nature, he seems at times to lay aside those great peculiarities which mark him as a ruler in the world of mind, and enters with gladness into the humblest cottage where his readers dwell. He must do this, or he cannot enlist their sympathies in behalf of the principles and precepts which he teaches.

Recent great advancements which have been made in the arts are favorable to the perfection of children's literature. The toilsome scribe was long since superseded by the printer. William Caxton, publisher of the first book printed in English, said in his preface: "I have practised and learned, at my great charge and despenche, to ordain this said book in print, after the manner and form as ye may here see, and is not written with pen and ink as other books ben, to the end that all men may have them at once; for all the books of this story thus imprinted, as ye may here see, were begun in one day, and also finished in one day." This great art has been so much improved since Caxton's day, that one unfamiliar with the toils of the printing-house—the type-setting, the proof-reading, the press-work—might suppose that books were multiplied by magic.

The art of engraving is doing much to benefit literature. All persons delight to be instructed by the eye. To the young especially, pictures are a source of continual delight. They instruct in a way that words cannot; and, in connection with them, they teach a lesson far more impressively than either could do without the other. Pictures in children's books should be in the best style of art. The painter's pencil and the engraver's burin should co-operate to make the objects delineated stand forth in life and beauty. Great improvement has been made in this department of children's books within recent years. The child may now study art and improve in taste while occupying the lowest form in the school-room.

What has been done for children is enough to cheer the heart of the philanthropist. Some of the best writers are directing their attention toward authorship for children. Dickens, besides his *Christmas Stories*, has given the youthful world something valuable in "*A Child's History of England*," upon which his genial fancy and transparent style have thrown a charm for "children of larger growth." This example has been imitated with some success in *Histories of the United States* and *Rome*, lately published in this country. Abbott has made his name familiar and beloved by his "*Histories*" of remarkable men and women in ancient and modern times. Yet he has written books in memory of some who are not worthy of the honor; from whose lives sufficient good cannot be gathered to repay the pains of writing and reading them. A boy will gain about as little benefit from the "*History of Nero*," as from the "*career, crime, and confession*" of some celebrated criminals, who have ended their lives on a modern gallows. Of less literary pretensions, unacknowledged by any distinguished name, and yet of

undoubted beneficial tendency, are "Stories from History," in several neat volumes, lately published by the Methodist Book Concern. Much has been laid before youth in the form of tales and sketches. Almost all our story writers, after having written for older people, have presented something for their "little friends." Such productions, being many, vary much in character. Parents should place no books of this class into the hands of their children until they have read them, and marked their fitness. Moreover, the simple style of many of our best authors renders books, not written especially for children, intelligent and interesting to those quite young in years. A child of ten years, with ordinary understanding, will read with interest many of the best productions of Addison and Irving. The benevolent projection and judicious selection of youth's libraries have given an important addition to the advantages of the rising generation. The State of New-York possesses the largest public library in the world. It is more efficient than the cloistered collections of the Old World, scattered as it is throughout the state, in every school district, and accessible to every child. Other states have their "Common-School Libraries," established with the same benevolent intent, and promoting in the same manner the interests of society.

The Sunday-School Union is the most efficient agent in modern times, for the creation and diffusion of literature for the young. It casts its richly-laden pages all over the land. They find their way to the mansions of the wealthy, and to the humble home of the settler in the distant West. Written by different authors, and having great variety in matter, style, and subject, they meet the wants of all, and convey instruction of infinite value to the rising generation.

With such favorable circumstances around the future men and women, we may expect the age just before us to be one of unusual intellectual brightness. The reign of Augustus was glorious in being cotemporary with the lives of many great authors. Addison, Johnson, and Goldsmith formed part of a constellation which shone first upon the British Islands, and then upon all other civilized lands. The eighteenth century was made brilliant by their presence.

But the golden age of literature is yet to come. In no period yet have the masses been able to appreciate literature. In more than one age the authors have been more numerous than their patrons. In the time of Augustus there were many poets, and but one Mæcenas. In the golden age of literature the authors will be

many, and their admirers and patrons vastly more. No number of authors alone can make a literary age. There must be an appreciating public. An author without readers is practically an idler among his fellow-men; for his efforts are of no avail in doing the labors of his age. Nor does it suffice that he shall have readers in after centuries. His lack of immediate success results from some deficiency, either in himself or the people of his time.

The age of great authors and appreciating people is not far in the future. When a generation occupies the world, which has learned to love literature from childhood, many powerful writers will arise, and their coming will be welcomed by the people.

ART. IV.—DE TOCQUEVILLE ON THE OLD RÉGIME.

The Old Régime and the Revolution, by ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE, of the Académie Française, author of *Democracy in America*. Translated by JOHN BONNER. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1856. 12mo., pp. 344.

AMONG civil commotions, the convulsions of France in 1789 stand pre-eminent in violence and horror, and form an attractive subject for the pencil of the painter and the pen of the historian. Ordinary bookmakers, however, are generally content to chronicle the outer facts of the great drama, taking it for granted that the readers who delight to pry into the hidden springs of events are so few in number, that the writer, as he takes up his pen, and in fancy summons his audience before him, may safely leave them wholly out of the account. M. de Tocqueville is no mere bookmaker. He does not choose his subjects, and his style of treating them, with sole reference to the trade sales; but studies governments and nations with the zeal of an enthusiast, and the painstaking accuracy of a philosopher.

In the volume before us, he sets himself the laborious task of explaining "why the Revolution, which was impending over every European country, burst forth in France rather than elsewhere; why it issued spontaneously from the society which it was to destroy; and how the old monarchy contrived to fall so completely and so suddenly."—Preface. Preparing for this work, he spent years in studying the writings of the last century, not only reading the publications of those days, but examining the government records of Paris, and even delving long and laboriously among the accumulated

documents of the provincial prefectures. He declares that he can point out in this little volume, "more than one short chapter that cost more than a year's work." The book, therefore, is not a portraiture of the mobs and the decapitations of the great national agony. It is a philosophical discussion, for the benefit of statesmen and thinkers, of the hidden powers that hurried on the vast movement.

It is not proposed in this paper to sit in judgment on the conclusions reached by our author, but rather to lay the conclusions themselves before those who lack opportunity to read the volume itself.

Though the Revolution burst forth as suddenly as an eruption from Etna, the inner fires were long kindling, and the molten sea within had been long accumulating. It startled the nations, and its voice rolled around the world like the sound of some great explosion; but nowhere does it seem to have been less expected than in France itself. In the eighteenth century, France abounded in great writers, and great statesmen were not lacking; yet no one saw the new power which was growing up into colossal strength in their midst. They often laid their hand upon it in the dark, but knew not what they touched. When the final movement began, no one seemed to have a clear idea of what it portended, or whether it would end in reforming or aggravating old abuses.

Almost the first object upon which the Revolution poured its fury was the Church, and yet the attack was not really prompted by hostility to religion. The Romish Church, established by law, had become one of the chief oppressors of the people, and was hated, not so much for its Christian doctrine, as for its lack of Christian practice. The multitude, indeed, in their phrensy, repudiated the idea of God, and declared death an eternal sleep; but who would not be an atheist when all that he knew of God was comprised in the single fact that in his name, the community was absolutely impoverished to support in splendor a horde of useless, lazy priests? Nor did hatred of all government give life to the Revolutionary monster. The convulsive struggles of an oppressed people resulted in temporary anarchy, because the existing government had become such a mass of abuses, that the people did not believe its reformation possible. When they held the weapons of destruction over its head, they saw nothing in it to respect or love, nothing that it was important to preserve. It was so evident that the revolt was not against even the monarchical form of government, but against abuses that had fastened themselves upon it, that Mirabeau, a year after the Revolution began, wrote secretly to the king, encouraging him to hope that the process of forced reform would spend its strength in

the overthrow of the privileged classes, and even end in strengthening the royal power. It was a revolt against oppression, not government. Like a religious reformation, the Revolution was not based upon local truths, or upon anything calculated to give it a local habitation. It taught abstract principles, it put forth claims in the name of the whole race, and uttered against oppression an outcry that found an echo wherever oppression was felt. Like the Gospel, it went forth with peculiar doctrines; it united its disciples in a bond of fellowship unknown before, but strong and free from all limitations of kindred and tongue. Thus it mastered hearts and led nations captive. Thus it grew into power, and everywhere wielded that power to assault every form of political wrong.

In France, the elements of social convulsion had long been gathering. Revolutions never come without cause. Nearly all Europe was ruled by monarchs; but in every nation there was a network of minor institutions, feudal rights and regulations, and class privileges, far more oppressive and irritating than the central tyranny. Against these old abuses, the Revolution leveled its blows. Whether destroyed by rebellion, or by other means, they were already doomed, and throughout Europe the final struggle was approaching. But why should the contest begin in France? When the elements of the eruption underlie the whole Continent, why should France become the crater of the volcano? This problem is worth solution. The first fact that greets our inquiries is apparently unaccountable. The people were everywhere ripe for war upon the institutions of the Middle Ages, and yet the war began among a people where the worst features of the old system had disappeared. Serfdom existed in Germany at this time in a far worse form than in France. Up to the very year that the French Revolution burst out, laws drawn up by Frederic the Great, forbade the German peasant to leave his master's domain, and provided for bringing back fugitives by force. Without his master's consent, he could not marry or change his calling. He might purchase lands, but his right to his own farm was never full and complete. He could not sell or mortgage his property without permission, or even sell the produce as his inclinations or interests prompted. Services of various kinds due his master, took a large portion, sometimes one half of his time; and when the peasant died, the master claimed a share of the property with the children. But in France, serfdom had long since ceased to exist. The peasantry went and came, bought and sold, acquired real estate, and managed it in their own way; and according to the estimate of the English traveler, Arthur Young, often quoted by De Tocqueville, owned half the landed property in the kingdom. Still,

while the seigniors had lost their legal right to the person of the peasant and his property, they claimed a portion of his labor. These old dues were now more odious than ever before. The time had been when the seignior was the king of his little realm, protecting his subjects and administering justice among them. He could therefore demand taxes and service on the ground that government is necessary, and that the people are bound to pay their rulers.

But feudal rule had died out. From a powerful aristocracy, the nobles had fallen to the level of a mere caste, distinguished from the common people by empty titles and class privileges only. The seigniors owned the mills and the wine presses, to which the farmers were obliged to bring their grain and grapes; and on every sale of lands a per centage of the price was paid them. They had the right to tax all fairs and markets, and they alone could keep pigeons or hunt. There were also seigniories belonging to the Church, and the serfs on the Church lands had been the last in all France to obtain their freedom. In addition to the regular tithes, the bishops, canons, and abbés, levied tolls and taxes, and owned the only mills, wine presses, and even ovens, in their respective seigniories. All these taxes and tolls, fees and exactions, fell upon the peasantry, and were borne the less graciously from the fact that the rule of the seignior was over, and the dues were exacted without any decent pretense.

The many reins of civil power which had fallen from the hands of the seigniors had been carefully gathered into the grasp of the central government. All power was centered in the king and his council, the members of which were appointed by him, and held office at his pleasure. France was divided into thirty departments, each of which was ruled by an officer called an *Intendant*, a sort of proconsul, who was appointed by the king and council, and was responsible to them alone. In each canton of his department, the intendant appointed a *subdélégué*, who was in his canton the representative of the intendant, and responsible to him. Everywhere, in town and country, there were hosts of consuls and judges, mayors, syndics, and bailiffs; every other man, in fact, seems to have had the name of a legal something, and the right to tax somebody else. The chief occupation of these authorities appears to have been the assessment and collection of taxes, numerous and diversified beyond description. The council and the intendants determined the amount to be raised in each department, and the intendant and his *subdélégués* collected it. In military conscriptions, the council determined the number of men to be furnished by each department, the intendant apportioned the number among the cantons, and the sub-

délégué presided over the lots, exempted whom he would, and handed over the rest to the officers of the army. Those who felt aggrieved had an appeal to the intendant and the council, but had no other mode of seeking redress. There were various courts for the administration of justice; but the king claimed the right of *evocation*, and wherever his interests or his fancy led him to feel an interest in any particular case, he evoked, or transferred it from the court to his council, and disposed of it in his own way.

Thus the sovereign absorbed all governmental power. He controlled the royal council; the "orders in council" were the laws of the lands, to be executed by intendants appointed by him. The court did everything and was everything. Its professions corresponded with its assumed omnipotence. Charging itself with the universal guardianship of the realm, it affected to be a paternal government, and, save in the important matter of the taxes, performed its office in a way ordinarily gentle enough, but meddlesome, fussy, and more grandmotherly than paternal. It not only took charge of the roads and bridges everywhere, built almshouses and work-houses, but gave the peasantry good advice in regard to crops, and the modes of cultivation, and even vouchsafed to instruct them in the proper mode of marking their sheep. Orders in council decided what kind of soil was good for this or that purpose, and commanded the vines planted amiss to be rooted up. Orders in council directed mechanics to use the machinery specified in the government reports, and told the weavers how long and how wide to make the stuffs. Moreover, this paternal advice was enforced by unpaternal fines, exacted of those who refused to be enlightened by royal wisdom.

While the peasantry were thus affectionately cared for, the inhabitants of the towns were not neglected. About 1692, the election of municipal officers by the citizens was abolished, and the king claimed the right to appoint them, and finally adopted the plan of selling the offices. Many of the cities and towns coveted the privilege of choosing their own mayor and aldermen, and by payment of large sums of money, bought the offices in the mass, and then held elections to fill them. This, however, was not a very safe investment, as the king was sometimes in sore need of cash; and when in such a strait, he generally issued an order in council, revoking the elective privileges, and then sold them again to the same purchasers. Seven times in eighty years were the towns stripped of their purchased rights, and compelled to purchase over again. Their majesties hardly attempted to conceal the cheat. In the preamble to the Edict of 1722, the king declares, with the most captivating candor,

"the necessities of our finances compel us to resort to the most effective remedy." But why did rich citizens buy municipal offices which, after all, gave them no real power? Simply because civil functionaries were not taxed. Taxes, enormous in amount, and more vexatious from the mode of levying and collecting them, were the curse of town and country, and a life-long exemption from them was worth purchase. An office without either duties or salary was the fiction under which the bargain was made. If a town purchased electoral privileges, nothing of any moment could be done by the corporation without a permit from the royal council. An order in council must be obtained before the inhabitants of a petty village could hold what we would call a "town meeting," and when legally summoned together, they could not spend even twenty francs in repairing the village church, till the wise heads of Paris had been laid together over the project. Taken all in all, never were a people so taxed, so pestered with law and law officers, so helpless in the hands of tyrants, great and small, primary and secondary. It is interesting to see how such a style of governing shaped the ideas of the people. Instead of repelling with indignation and scorn its fussy officiousness, they made government their providence, and looked up to it with awe and unbounded expectation. As the government insisted on knowing everything and controlling everything, the people very naturally thought that it should do everything. Everybody expected the government to feel a paternal interest in his grape vines, sheep fold, or barley patch, and to be ready to give him good advice or pecuniary aid, as circumstances might demand. In a word, France in 1770 was rather more dependent on government than France in 1856. The poorer classes still expect the government to be "paternal," and an act of the most outrageous tyranny is less dangerous to the rule of Louis Napoleon, than the rise of a cent in the price of a loaf of bread. The cry of the masses is always more for food than freedom. Paris supperless is always Paris insurgent.

Another thing helped to prepare the way for a sanguinary revolution. All natural life was centered in Paris. Thither the nobles, the wealthy, and the men of intellect wended their way from the provinces, and thus the payers and the recipients of the endless fees, dues, rents, and graces were separated by distance as well as social position. In 1740, Montesquieu wrote to a friend: "France is nothing but Paris, and a few distant provinces which Paris has not yet had time to swallow up." For many years, the French monarchs had been fearful lest Paris should become dangerous to the throne, and had striven to repress its growth. One edict commanded all new buildings to be erected in the most costly style; another pro-

hibited all building of new houses ; but Paris still increased in size and population. As wealth left the provinces for the capital, many branches of manufacture followed it, and thus Paris became a great manufacturing city. During the latter years of the old régime, the working classes increased more rapidly than any other, and large sections of the city were inhabited exclusively by them. Thus Paris became France, and thus the destined victims of approaching revolution gathered there for the sacrifice ; and from the alienated provinces followed the fierce bands that were to shed their blood.

The pride of birth among the nobles, the care with which they drew the line which separated them from the untitled, increased their unpopularity. In moral worth, and in intelligence, the nobles had little to boast of over the better class of commoners. The nobility had for a long time been growing poor, and the wealth which they lost fell into the hands of others fully equal to them in all things, save the hated class privileges. The whole people, in fact, were cut up into parties and factions, having few or no interests or feelings in common, and more or less hostile to each other. Endless division and subdivision were everywhere apparent. The population of an ordinary town was sometimes divided into thirty or forty classes, with their various privileges and distinctions. These were all jealous of each other, and their petty contentions were numberless. A portion of the officers of a city resign in disgust, because the rest of them are mere mechanics ; the barbers are bowed down with grief to find that the bakers take precedence of them in the assembly of notables, and different branches of the corporation quarrel at church over the order in which they shall present themselves before the priest, to be sprinkled with holy water.

Thus social disintegration and discord prepared the way for revolution and bloody conflict. Thus the old régime became sick unto death from excessive and unequal taxation, and endless and irritating social distinctions. For centuries these evils had been accumulating. During the Middle Ages, the kings, in ordinary times, lived upon the produce of the lands set apart for their maintenance, and when extraordinary circumstances demanded extraordinary revenues for state purposes, the taxes were laid equally upon all. In the fourteenth century, the people were not taxed without their own consent ; but this principle was at length violated by the kings, the nobles consenting to the measure on condition that they should be exempt ; and thus the train was laid for all subsequent abuses and final disasters. As royalty became splendid, and the court and the capital increased in luxury and prodigality, more, and still more money was needed by the king. New imposts

were laid, and new offices in town and country were devised and virtually put up at auction. The crown lands were sold, and claimed again on the plea of their being inalienable. Titles of nobility were sold to wealthy and ambitious commoners, revoked, and again restored on the payment of a second sum of money. Cities, towns, and individual citizens paid money for "perpetual" privileges, were stripped of them without reason, and had the same privileges offered them again for money. Town and country were taxed, directly and indirectly, without law, without reason, without mercy, without remorse, without an explanation however false, or an apology however empty. If, indeed, the kings had deliberately resolved to goad the nation to phrensy, they could not have employed better or more effective means. Those who bore the burdens were not silent under them; they remonstrated, but could do nothing more. Even the better sovereigns of France were blind to the wrongs which they inflicted, and the perils they were incurring. Louis XII. reduced the sale of offices to a system, and Henry IV. sold hereditary authority. The sovereigns seem to have fancied that castes and class divisions protect the throne, by preventing concert of action among citizens. There was, indeed, one king who tried to abolish class privileges and harmonize French society, but he was Louis XVI., whom the Revolution sent to the guillotine.

While the public burdens were increasing continually, the most hated feature of them, their inequality, increased rather than diminished. The nobles and the rich burghers were deemed the most powerful portion of society, and therefore the most dangerous, and as new wants in the palace called for new taxes and imposts, they were so contrived as to fall upon the classes supposed to be least capable of resistance. The general condition of the peasantry was daily becoming more desperate. Wealth and rank had deserted the provinces for Paris; and there the revenues of great landed estates were spent in luxury and folly. After the peasant had paid up his dues to the king, the seignior, the priest, and all the rest who claimed a share of his scanty earnings, he had little left for himself. The office of tax collector, especially in the country, was becoming universally odious, and to be appointed as such, was deemed a great calamity, always involving the recipient in manifold perplexities, and often in pecuniary ruin. The only alternative presented to the collector was to ruin others, or be ruined himself.

While a false and oppressive system of government was driving the working classes to desperation, the literary men of France began to discourse, more than ever before, of the abstract principles of public authority, and to captivate and inflame the popular mind with their

splendid theories. They discussed the origin of society, the primitive forms of government, the obligations of rulers, and the rights of the citizen. Beginning among writers and men of leisure, these reasonings and inquiries spread among all classes, and assumed all outward shapes, from the ponderous folio down to a twopenny song, and the vintner treading his grapes, as well as the savant among his books, grew eloquent over the original idea of government, and the universal equality of citizens. The right to dream was about the only right left the people, and they improved it well. The most singular feature of these discussions is the fact, that the very classes destined to be the first victims of insurrection, joined in them, and lauded extravagantly the theories that were soon to clamor for heads. The American Revolution has been represented as the cause of the Revolution in France; but if it had effect there, it was only by showing the French that the things of which they loved to dream, might have a real existence.

From a combination of circumstances, the movement assumed the appearance of irreligion. The Church stood in the way of political improvement. The Church dealt in traditions, demanded implicit faith in its teachings, and claimed rights divinely given. The popular philosophy scouted tradition, made reason the umpire of all disputes, and rebelled at the idea of a privileged class, social or religious. The Church, too, was a recipient of the hated taxes; it had become a state power, and was so leagued with the other oppressors of the people, that it seemed impossible to attack oppression without assailing the Church. To repudiate the secular claims of the priesthood, and that part of their teachings upon which those claims were based, and yet retain reverence for the rest, was too abstract a mental process for excited insurgents, and they therefore rushed into open infidelity and atheism.

Though the most ultra theories of liberty were in every mouth, yet, at first, nothing was sought beyond reform. They were still aiming at a government that would do everything, but do it well. The working classes wanted a government that would feed, clothe, and educate the people, and be a good master. Modern socialism is no sudden creation of our own times. A century ago, French philosophers were dreaming over its beatitudes; and at the time of the Revolution, any government, however absolute, that would destroy castes and class privileges, and care equally and well for all the citizens, would have been accepted by the French.

The condition of the people at the close of the eighteenth century was not as bad, in some respects, as it had been. During the first half of the century, there was no enterprise, no progress, either in

the political or commercial world. The government gathered the taxes and spent the money, and the people submitted to exaction in quiet, unresisting hopelessness. But thirty or forty years before the Revolution, the scene changed, and France began to prosecute with energy and success all description of industrial pursuits. A general outcry against social abuses followed, and the whole nation was in an industrial and political ferment. The government became intent on public improvements, and canals and roads, commerce and manufactures were the objects of its solicitude. All in authority were talking about the poorer classes and devising means to help them; and while caste distinctions were legally untouched, the administration of the laws gradually became more favorable to the oppressed. These ameliorations, however, had no power to stop the tread of approaching revolution; and strange as it may seem, the districts where reform had gone the furthest, were fiercest for revolution. Governments sometimes grow wise too late, and the reforms which they attempt only serve as confessions of wrong, and justify vengeance.

In this case, the very effort to reform was of such a nature as to stir up rebellion. For a long time, the lower classes had possessed no voice in the affairs of government, and in the discussions which now abounded, it seems to have been assumed that the people were literally deaf, as well as politically dumb. Thirteen years before he lost his head, Louis XVI. endeavored to abolish forced labor on the public roads, (*corvées*,) one of the most oppressive of the burdens of the peasants; and his majesty very candidly set forth in a state paper, some reasons for abolition: "The whole burden has fallen upon those who have no property but their labor, and whose interest in the roads is very slender. The land owners, who are really interested, are privileged exempts." Another address of the king declares that "the right to labor is the most sacred of all properties; any law which infringes it is essentially null and void." It was dangerous for government to speak thus of laws and regulations, which, nevertheless, were left in full force. It became the fashion to admit that the working classes were grievously wronged, and the government and the privileged classes mutually accused each other of being the authors of the wrong; but no one proposed an effectual remedy. These discussions and recriminations were not confined to the royal cabinet, nor to the halls where the nobles and the clergy met and talked. They were printed and published; they went all abroad among the people whose wrongs they portrayed. And these very documents spoke of the classes whose burdens they deplore as "low peasants, ignorant and gross, turbulent and rude," and then

graciously invited them to state their grievances. Thus the privileged classes, unwilling, after all, to relinquish their privileges, confessed themselves to be guilty of injustice, and yet persisted in the outrage. Every movement was made in a manner directly calculated to rouse the working classes to fury.

The authorities taught the people revolution by example as well as precept. No law was sacred in the eyes of the kings; why, then, should law be sacred in the eyes of the people? Louis XVI. during his whole reign talked continually of innovations and reforms; and, in truth, assaulted most of the abuses which the revolution overthrew. Louis XIV. had taught the doctrine that all lands belonged of right to the state. Louis XVI., in constructing bridges and roads, ordered lands to be taken, and houses to be pulled down, alleging that all private rights must give way before the good of the public. On the same plea of the public good, charitable funds were alienated from their original purposes, and in times of scarcity, sales of produce, at fixed prices, were compelled by law. In the criminal courts, the king sometimes violated all the forms of law, in order to carry out his private views. Thus the people were taught to regard lightly all existing institutions.

The king's attempts at innovation, whether he succeeded or failed, aided in precipitating the catastrophe of 1789. The trade companies had been deprived of their charters, and then the charters were restored, and thus the employers and the employed were alienated further than ever, and both felt unsettled and uncertain. In 1787, the provincial intendants and their *subdélégués* were stripped of the greater portion of their powers, and provincial assemblies were established, which levied the taxes and managed all public works. In 1788, a royal edict turned out the myriad of district judges, and created new courts and jurisdictions. The most vital machinery of government was broken up, the different classes were driven into fiercer collision, and the whole framework of society was unhinged. Old forms were dissolving, ancient institutions were crumbling. Objects of former reverence were treated with contempt by the conservative classes; and thus the more timid felt themselves adrift upon an ocean whose tides they could neither comprehend nor resist, and the bolder spirits who advocated change, were taught to attack without fear and destroy without remorse. It was not so in the English Revolution of 1646. Overthrowing royalty and sweeping the land with war, it left undisturbed the common law of the land, and through it all, the twelve judges traveled their circuits, and held their courts as usual. The nation, like the sea in a storm, tossed violently upon the surface, while the depths below were unmoved.

And thus the terrible day of social reckoning was ushered in, and castes and class privileges, with their intolerable weight of wrong, fell with a mighty crash. Thus the weak but well-meaning Louis XVI. set in motion an avalanche of wrath that buried him and his throne. Thus the nobles first despised, and then pitied their victims, but repented too late; and the clergy, by joining the ranks of the oppressors and sharing the spoil, incited a whole people to practical atheism. Thus a dark and vengeful spirit moved upon the face of the troubled waters, and society returned to a gory chaos. The wonder is, not that a bloody revolution came so soon, but that it was delayed so long.

Our author promises another book on the Revolution itself, and its permanent results. We hope that he will carry out his plans.

ART. V.—THE DEMONIACS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

[AFTER THE GERMAN OF DR. EBRARD, BY PROFESSOR REUEBELT.]

THE most remarkable kind of miracles wrought by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ is the cure of demoniacs; both because their state, as being possessed with evil spirits, is in itself most enigmatical, and because similar phenomena, both before and after the times of Christ, are either wanting altogether or extremely rare; for the state of King Saul, as recorded 1 Sam. xviii, 10; xix, 9, furnishes no parallel, and the statements of afflicted individuals in our own times, who say that they are under Satanic influences, require the closest examination, before judgment can be passed on the nature and cause of their diseases.

In order to throw light on this dark subject, and to arrive, if possible, at a correct conclusion with regard to it, it may be necessary to learn what the New Testament teaches with regard to it; then to compare the different views that have been held by individuals, and greater or smaller portions of the Church, on the state of demoniacs; and, in the last place, to inquire whether or not an intelligent belief in the presence of malignant spirits in such individuals is tenable before the light of modern science sanctified by faith in Jesus Christ; and under these three heads it is proposed to treat the subject in this article.

I. The individuals under consideration are called in the New

Testament, "*possessed with devils*," Matt. iv, 24; Mark i, 32, (οἱ δαιμονιζόμενοι;) *vexed with unclean spirits*, Luke vi, 18, (ἐνοχλούμενοι ἀπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων;) the evil spirits, who cause the affliction, are called δαιμόνια, (devils,) Matt. x, 18; Mark i, 34; sometimes spirits, (πνεύματα,) Luke x, 20, or unclean spirits, (πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα,) Matt. x, 1. The cure itself is designated, with regard to the devils, by *casting out*, (ἐκβάλλειν,) Matt. viii, 16; Mark i, 34; but with regard to the cured individual by *healing*, making *whole*, (θεραπεύεσθαι,) Luke vi, 18; Matt. xv, 28; and of the apostles it is said, "the devils are subject to us," (τὰ δαιμόνια ἡμῖν ὑποτάσσεται,) Luke x, 17.

It is apparent at once, that the sacred penmen do not intend to designate physical diseases by such terms as δαιμονιζόμενοι, ἐκβάλλειν, etc. Δαιμόνια are those wicked spirits that are in the service of Satan, and with him constitute the kingdom of darkness, of which Satan is prince. Compare Matt. xii, 24-29, and Luke xiii, 16, where the expressions ἐκβάλλειν τὸν σατανᾶν and ἐκβάλλειν τὰ δαιμόνια are used together, because the demons are the σκευὴ τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ (v. 29) by which he exercises his dominion. In 1 Cor. x, 20, 21, the spirits of darkness are called δαιμόνια, with regard to their pernicious influence on the moral life of the soul; and in Eph. vi, 12, πνευμάτικα τῆς πονηρίας, *spirits of wickedness*, (not, as the English translation gives it, *spiritual wickedness*.) From these passages it is evident that *spirits of hell*, *subjects of the kingdom of Satan*, are intended by the sacred writers.

There is room, then, in this connection, only for the question, who these subjects of Satan's kingdom are, whether *fallen spirits*, or the disembodied spirits of wicked men. The latter was the view of Josephus, who writes, (Bell. Jud., B. VII, c. vi, § 3:) "τὰ γὰρ καλούμενα δαιμόνια πονηρῶν ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων πνεύματα, τοῖς ζῶσιν εἰς δνόμενα καὶ κτείνοντα τοὺς βοηθείας μὴ τυγχάνοντας—for the beings that are called δαιμόνια are the spirits of wicked men, who enter into the living, and kill those that receive no help," while the pseudo-Clementines (viii, 18) understand by them the souls of the giants, conceived by devils and born of the daughters of men, (Gen. vi,) and say of them, (ix, 9:) "οἱ δαίμονες . . . ἐξονσίαν ἔχοντες, ὑπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων χειρῶν εἰς τὰ ὑμέτερα εἰσκρίνονται σώματα—ἐνδομνησάντες γὰρ πολλῶ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ ἀνακρίνεται—the demons having power enter under your hands into your bodies; for having been hid (there) a long time, they insinuate themselves into the soul too." Justin Martyr, Apol. II, 5, advances a similar view. It is true, these are mere opinions, and constitute no test whatever, but must be tested by the word of God them-

selves; but they go to show what opinions have been held at different times on the subject in question.

By πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα, spirits that have not been purified, but that might have been purified, can, indeed, be understood, and the writers of the New Testament might be supposed to have used the expression in a meaning similar to that in which Josephus uses it; but although the words *might* bear that interpretation, it does not follow that they actually do, and it is more congenial to the context to understand by them "*unclean spirits*," while in some places, as Mark iii, 30, by πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα only devils, and not disembodied spirits, can be understood; so also Apoc. xvi, 13; xviii, 2, the πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα mean evidently not souls of men, but fallen angels. It is, therefore, safest to understand by δαμόνια, fallen angels or devils. Of infinitely greater importance, however, than the question, who these δαμόνια are, is another, namely, in what manner they affected living individuals. The relation of the demon to his victim is expressed by δαμονίζεσθαι, to be demonized; ἐνοχλεῖσθαι, to be vexed; δεῖσθαι, to be bound; ἔχειν πνεῦμα, to have a spirit; by Josephus, through εἰσδύεσθαι, to creep into, to enter; ἐγκάθεσθαι, to settle; and the dissolution of this relation by ἐξελθεῖν, to come out. But it will be well to examine the individual cases mentioned in the New Testament more closely.

In every instance the somatic-psychical life of the demoniac appears to be bound, altered by a strange influence coming from without; the soul is no longer in possession of her body; a foreign something has forced itself between soul and body, which exerts a disturbing and restraining influence on the bodily organs of the psychical life. But it appears in no case that the soul herself, and much less the *I*, is supplanted by the demons; nowhere has the demon taken the place of the *I*; he has not settled in the soul, does not exert a direct influence upon the mind, but upon the nerves, upon the somatic organs of the psychical functions, and thus brings about phenomena, that are caused likewise by disturbing natural causes.

The influence of the demon is not of a spiritually moral, but of a physical-psychical character. Judas (John xiii, 29) did not become a δαμονιζόμενος, but a hardened sinner.

The phenomena thus brought about by demons are of various kinds:

1. A kind of clairvoyance: such demoniacs knew Jesus to be the Son of God, before he had imparted this mystery of his person to any one, (Luke iv, 34;) viii, 28; Matt. viii, 29; the female slave at Philippi (Acts xvi, 16) was a clairvoyante, in consequence of being possessed with an unclean spirit.

2. Mania: the demoniac mentioned Mark v, 1, etc., had his dwelling among the tombs; no one could bind him, no, not with chains; whenever he had been bound, the chains had been plucked asunder by him, and the fetters broken to pieces; according to Luke viii, 27, he wore no clothes; the boy, (Luke ix, 39,) *κράζει*, cried out and foamed.

3. Epilepsy: Luke ix, 39, *σπαράσσει αὐτὸν μετὰ ἀφροῦ*, he teareth him with foam; Mark ix, 18, *ἀφρίζει καὶ τρίζει τοὺς ὀδόντας αὐτοῦ*, he foameth and gnasheth with his teeth; Matt. xvii, 15, *πολλάκις πίπτει εἰς τὸ πῦρ, καὶ πολλάκις εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ*, he often falls into the fire and into the water.

4. Deafness, Matt. ix, 32; xii, 22; Luke xi, 14. This deafness must have clearly appeared as the effect of the working of a demon, and must, therefore, have differed from common deafness, which is nowhere ascribed to influences of demons. Mark ix, 17, may throw some light on the subject; the boy in question had neither his organs of speech impaired; nor was he deaf, and his faculty of speech in consequence thereof undeveloped; but his psychical life was disturbed, so that he could not set his organs of speech in motion; he was, consequently, deaf from mania; the demoniac described Matt. ix, 32, was probably of the same character.

5. Lameness, (Luke xiii, 11,) blindness, (Matt. xii, 22,) in connection with deafness. The boy's (Matt. xvii) lunacy and emaciated state (*ξηραίνεσθαι*) are also attributed to Satanic influences. The most complicated phenomena are united in this boy; epilepsy preceded by crying out, and the propensity to fall into fire or water, whenever he was seized with paroxysms; deafness, (probably from idiocy, as remarked already,) with emaciation, in consequence of his sufferings. At the same time both the boy and his father knew that these complicated sufferings were the effects of Satanic influences.

As to the Gadarene, even his faculty of speech was in the power of another, as it is not the demoniac that speaks, but the devil or devils out of him. Mark v, 7; Luke viii, 30. Even the prayer, "*μή με βασανίσῃς, torment me not,*" proceeded from the demon, as being connected with the clairvoyant address, in which he calls Jesus by name.

It may, in the next place, be noticed as worthy of note, that many demons may exert their influence on one individual at the same time; see Mark v, 9; Luke viii, 30; Mark xvi, 9; Matt. xii, 45.

What is related Mark v, 9, might, indeed, be looked upon as a delusion of the demoniac himself, that "*many*" unclean spirits were the cause of his disturbed state; yet the end of the story proves

the contrary: "and the unclean spirits went out and went into the swine; and the herd ran violently down a steep place into the sea, (they were about two thousand,) and were choked in the sea."

Of Mary Magdalene (Mark xvi, 9) it is said quite objectively, that seven devils were cast out of her.

The next point to be considered is, whether this horrible calamity was incurred as a punishment for committed crimes, whether it was caused by the moral guilt of the miserable victims. Some commentators have favored this opinion, and have seen, in sins of lewdness especially, a close relation between the moral guilt and the entrance of a demon into the guilty individuals, while others pass this subject by without any special notice.

Now, we are ready to admit, that many sins are as closely followed by their punishment, as a body is by its shadow, as well as that in individual cases the calamity in question *may have been* a punishment for sins committed by the individuals; but, on the whole, this view is not favored by the word of God. "Who did sin, this man or his parents, that he was born blind," asked the disciples, (John ix, 2;) but what was the answer of Christ? "Neither has this man sinned, nor his parents, but that the works of God should be made manifest in him." And why should not the same or a similar answer be returned to the question with regard to the demoniacs? Here may be the place to introduce another question, namely: why cases of demoniacy were of so frequent occurrence in the times of Christ, while they were entirely unknown both among Jews and Gentiles before him, and, to say the least, of much rarer occurrence after him and his apostles. Different answers have been given to this query. Dr. Clarke (Commentary on Matt. viii, 16) quotes from Dr. Lightfoot two solid reasons: first, because the Jews were then advanced to the very height of impiety; secondly, they were then strictly addicted to magic, and thus invited the devil to be familiar with them. To these we might add a third reason, namely: that as Christ had come to destroy the moral power of the devil and his kingdom, it was necessary that he should, even outwardly, show his superiority over the archfiend.

After this digression, we return to our main question. The boy mentioned Mark ix, 21, was so afflicted "*of a child*," *παιδιόθεν*; there is, then, in his case no room for moral guilt, and what was the case with him, *may have been* the case with all the rest. We are, as a matter of course, not disposed to deny even here the connection between sin and suffering, we only wish to have it not restricted to individual cases, but to have it applied to humanity as an organic whole under the dominion of sin, and, therefore, subject to suffering.

Matt. xii, 43, etc., "When the unclean spirit is gone out of a man, he walks through dry places, seeking rest, and finding none; then he says, I will return unto my house, from whence I came out; and when he is come, he findeth it empty, swept, and garnished; then he takes with himself seven other spirits more wicked than himself, and they enter in and dwell there; and the last state of that man is worse than the first," is not against the view we have advanced here. Waving the fact, that we have here a parable, for although a parable or simile, it must describe a state that really exists, we admit, that an individual may bring about by want of watching, or by sins, a relapse into his former terrible state. But this does not prove that the first state was also brought on by particular sins. But we are perfectly ready to recognize a certain natural predisposition for Satanic influences, as is the case with many natural diseases. A man may, for example, have become deranged without any special guilt, in consequence of an honorable wound in his head, or by an affection of his spine; he is cured, but he must scrupulously guard against any outbreak of passion, because a predisposition for a relapse has been formed by his previous sufferings. The same may have been the case with the demoniacs, only with this difference, that their case became, by wanton sins, infinitely worse than it formerly was, because, in addition to the acquired predisposition, the Spirit of God with his guarding and protecting influences left them. And such a predisposition may also be brought about by certain sins, but this is not necessarily the case. Natural diseases furnish a perfect parallel; a man may, for example, by certain sins weaken his nerves to such a degree, that certain outward causes, which would not affect another, may cause in his case mania or epilepsy. Again, this predisposition may be natural, in such a manner, that certain sins may bring on one man a dangerous disease, which are committed by others with perfect impunity. But if it would be unjust and unchristian to suppose, that mania or epilepsy is brought on by certain sins, it would be still more so to infer from a state of demoniacy, that it had been brought about by the moral guilt of the individual.

The last point to be considered is the manner of their cures as recorded in the New Testament. The Lord cures them by the power of his word, by the command addressed to the spirit: "Come out," Matt. viii, 16, ἐξέβαλε τὰ πνεύματα λόγῳ; he gave the same power to his disciples, (Matt. x, 1,) and even one, who was a stranger to his disciples, cast out devils in the name of Jesus. Yea, from Matt. xii, 27, "If I cast out devils by Beelzebub, by whom do your children cast them out?" it seems to follow incontrovertibly, that

even Jews, who did not yet believe in the Lord, succeeded sometimes in casting out demons.

Josephus writes, that by certain formulas and medicine, professedly handed down from King Solomon, demons were cast out; but that also the root of a certain plant was used for the same purpose. Ant., VIII, 25, he says: "Solomon had also received from God the gift to know the art against demons for the benefit of mankind. He composed exorcisms and left formulas, by which demons are cast out without ever returning." And again, Bell. Jud., VII, 6, 3: "The Valley of Baara brings forth a root of the same name. It is of a reddish color, and emits sparks in the evening; it is difficult to pull it out. . . . To touch it is certain death, except it be carried off entire. It is safest to have it pulled out by a dog. Demons, that is, the souls of wicked persons, who enter into the living and kill them, if no help is extended to them, are cast out by means of this plant, as soon as it is brought near the sick person." Justin (Diab. c. Tryph., Ep. 85) says: "Ἡδὴ μέντοι οἱ ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐξορκιστὰι τῇ τέχνῃ, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη, χρώμενοι ἐξορκίζουσι καὶ θυμιάμασι καὶ καταδέσμοις χρῶνται"—your exorcists cast out devils by having recourse to art, as the heathens do, and make use of perfumes and bandages. On these practices Justin (Ep. 85) passes the following judgment: "ἐὰν δὲ κατὰ παντὸς ὀνόματος τῶν παρ' ὁμῶν γεγοννημένων ἢ βασιλεῶν ἢ δικαίων ἢ προφητῶν ἢ πατριαρχῶν ἐξορκίζετε ὑμεῖς, οὐχ ὑποταγῆσεται οὐδὲν τῶν δαιμονίων· ἀλλ' εἰ ἄρα ἐξορκίζοι τις ὑμῶν κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ θεοῦ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ θεοῦ Ἰακώβ, ἴσως ὑποταγῆσεται;" that is, if you exorcise in the name of any of your just men, whether kings, patriarchs, or prophets, no demon will be made to yield; but if any one of you should exorcise in the name of the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, he will likewise yield.

It is worthy of note, that before the demons leave, they once more vent their rage upon their victims, (Mark ix, 20; Luke ix, 42,) for which reasons the demoniacs themselves dread the cure, (Mark v, 7; Luke viii, 28,) and the disciples of Jesus are discouraged, (Mark ix, 18.) The demons dread to be compelled to leave the man and to go down into the deep, (Luke viii, 31,) and prefer being permitted to exert their power upon animals, not knowing, that by this foreign influence the animals themselves will be driven to madness and thus be killed.

These are the teachings of the New Testament on demoniacs. Let us now consider the different views that have been held on this subject. As late as the eighteenth century, both Catholics and Protestants believed firmly in the plain declarations of the word of God,

namely, that either devils or disembodied spirits of wicked men could enter into living persons, to torment them and make them wretched. Scholasticism developed not so much the doctrine concerning demoniacs, as concerning exorcism, very fully; it was taken for granted, that such possessions with devils were still and always possible, as a matter of course. Cases of real or imaginary possessions are recorded by Thuanus, lib. 133, Sleidanus, lib. 9, and others. A collection of Roman Catholic formulas of exorcism is found in Gisb. Voel's, III, p. 1157.

The Protestants of the Reformation considered exorcism, or the power to cast out devils, as a charisma, "sine infallibili cum eterna salute connectione," and thus distinguished it from that of the Pagans, Jews, or Romanists. The Lutherans retained exorcism even in baptism, for the following reason: When the Saxons were converted, each grown person had, before he was baptized, to renounce the devil and all his works, and this was quite sensible. But in the course of time, the origin and intent of this vow were lost sight of, and it was perverted into a kind of exorcism, and as such applied to children at their baptism; as if all children were demoniacs, or as if original sin and a state of demoniacy were one and the same thing! And yet, there are in our days those who think that baptism is incomplete without exorcism!

If it is borne in mind, that during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the belief in witches ruled supreme, and that criminal proceedings against them were the order of the day, the powerful reaction that took place in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries will appear as a matter of course. As it had been taken for granted that there might always be demoniacs, and as every strange phenomenon was, accordingly, attributed to diabolical influences, there was great danger, after this error had been discovered, and the supposed Satanic influences been accounted for on natural principles, lest people should pass from one extreme to the other, and put the cases recorded in the New Testament on an equal footing with natural phenomena, and so it came actually to pass. Grotius in his Commentary on Matt. iv, 24, still says: "*Δαίμονιζομένους* esse apparet non quovis modo insanientes, sed impurorum spirituum vi majore correptos atque agitados," etc.—"it appears, that not all maniacs are demoniacs, but only those who are seized and driven about by a greater force of unclean spirits." Hobbes, (in his *Leviathan*,) Bekker, and Wetstein expressed doubts on the subject; but Semler was the first (in Germany) who, in his *Comm. de Demoniacis, quorum in Novo Testamento fit mentio*, (1760,) maintained that the demoniacs of the New Testament had been afflicted with ordinary

diseases, and this view became soon universal in the school of Rationalism.

Since the influence of the demons upon the demoniacs produced nothing but a disturbance of the nerves and of the bodily organs of the psychical life, it requires but one grain of common sense to say, "these cases of demoniacity are nothing but diseases," which affirmation no one denies, but the question is, what is the cause of these diseases?

When, by working upon the brain, a demon drives an individual raving mad, the effect is a disease, as much so as mania brought about by hurting the meninges. When, by working upon the spinal nerves, a demon causes epileptical fits, the effect is as much a disease as when the spinal marrow is dried up by some mechanical cause, and, in consequence thereof, epilepsy brought about. A child can comprehend that this similarity proves nothing. The question, then, returns with double force, How were these phenomena brought about? by natural causes or by diabolical influences? If Rationalism is pressed for the proof, that the phenomena in question were not the effects of demoniac influences, we receive about the following answer: "We do not believe in the existence of fallen spirits, in no kingdom of darkness, in no possibility of spirits influencing man, and, for this reason, we hold that the diseases of the demoniacs of the New Testament cannot have been caused by demons, but were brought about by natural causes." This whole argument is, of course, conclusive, and no *petitio principii*!

In the next place, it has been said, that the heathens at and before the time of Christ believed in demoniac influences, and that this belief was consequently nothing but one of the superstitious notions of those times. The antecedent is scarcely half true, and the consequent is false. The bacchanal and corybantic mania, (Herod., iv, 79,) (Dion. Hal., de Demosth., 22,) like the madness of the fakirs of Egypt, was voluntary, and had, therefore, nothing in common with the state of a demoniac, no more than the *δαίμωνιον* of Socrates, or that of the poets; the mania of Cambyzes, which Herodotus (iii, 33) ascribes to the influence of a god, furnishes no parallel either; for Cambyzes conducted himself only like a maniac by killing his brother, and disgracing and then marrying his sister. Even if such a state of madness was ascribed to supernatural agencies by the ancients, they attributed it to the influence of an envious god—*στυγερὸς θεός*—not to the influence of a demon. Conclusive evidence, that a disturbance of the physical life was ascribed by classical antiquity to demoniac influences, there is none.

But it appears from Josephus and Justin, as quoted above, that

in the time of Christ the heathens knew of real demoniacs, and Plutarch (Sympos. vii, 5) and Lucian (Philops. 16) relate that they endeavored to cast out demons by exorcism; that they also took them for disembodied spirits, cannot be proved. Horace (Epod., v, 91, et seq.) does not prove this, as Winer erroneously asserts; the passage is as follows: "Ubi jussus perire expiravero, nocturnus occurram furor, petamque vultus umbra curvis unguibus (quæ vis deorum est manium) et inquietis adsidens prævidiis, pavore somnos auferam—where I shall expire at thy command to die, I shall haunt you by night as a tormentor; I shall attack your faces with crooked claws, (such power possess the Manes,) and fixing myself to your restless hearts, shall keep off sleep by terrifying you." That Horace speaks here not of demons, but of hobgoblins, appears at first sight. Philostratus is the only one that entertained the view in question. But does it follow, that all belief in demons and their workings upon men was superstitious, because it is met with among the heathens? Does the belief in the existence of the moon also rest on superstition, because it is met with among the heathen? If it could be proved, that the notions about these influences of demons had their origin in the belief in corybantism, and that these views passed over to the Jews from the heathens, there would be some show of reason for the assertion under consideration. But we have seen, that classical antiquity knows nothing about real demoniacs, as well as that the Bacchanalians and Corybantics and the rage of Cambyses had not the least in common with the state of the demoniacs of the New Testament. It is only *after* the times of Christ, that we meet with sufferers, who are under the impression that they are tormented by demons, and that the cause of their sufferings can be removed by exorcisms. But whether the heathens learned from the Jews to look upon devils as the causes of such sufferings, or whether they were led by their own instinct to this notion, whether they were right in every case or not, it follows by no means that their belief in such influences was founded upon superstition. The light of revelation and the twilight of heathenism, divine prophecy and human foreboding, darkened, indeed, by error, but still embodying some truth, are going hand in hand through all antiquity. And even admitting, for argument's sake, that the heathens, before the times of Christ, understood by their *στρυγεροῖς δαίμοσι*, not envious *gods*, but souls coming from out of Tartarus, it follows by no means, that, for this reason, the teachings of the New Testament on that subject must be false.

Of no greater weight is the assertion, that there are no more demoniacs in our day. We shall not meet this assertion by another,

namely, that such cases still occur; for how could we prove it? That there are now and then patients in our lunatic asylums, who look upon themselves as possessed with evil spirits, is a notorious fact; but whether this their notion is only the consequence of their derangement, or whether there is some truth at the bottom of their declarations, only a thorough examination of every individual case would show. There are physicians, believing firmly in the Bible, and having a practice of many years in lunatic asylums, who say, that they have never met with a case of real demoniacy, and it is certainly safer for physicians in this case to err by being too skeptical, than by being too credulous, and infallible criteria in such cases are certainly very rare. The only infallible proof, that a demon or devil is the cause of a disorder, is, perhaps, *to cast him out, and thus to remove the disorder by a command addressed to the demon in the name of Jesus Christ*; for this is the cure recorded in the New Testament, as made use of by Christ and his apostles. By a mere word spoken in faith, even by a Jew, persons were cured, and Josephus relates (*Ant.* VIII, c. ii, § 5) a case as an eyewitness, that a certain Jew, Eleazar by name, cast out, in the presence of Vespasian, his son, and courtiers, a demon, who, in order to prove the reality of the transaction, upset a glass of water standing by, as he had been ordered to do. *Matt.* xii, 27, Christ declares expressly, that by magic such cures cannot be performed; compare Justin, (*Dial.* c. Tryph., Ep. 85.) and if roots were superstitiously used, it appears from Josephus (*Ant.* VIII, c. ii, § 5) that the application of the root and its effect were not of a medical character, as the root was only hung on the patient's nose or brought near him. That no medical treatment took place, appears conclusively from the statements of Josephus; that now and then, however, real cures were effected, Josephus, Justin, and *Matt.* xii, 27, leave no room to doubt; and as Christ says that they were not effected by magic, we must conclude with Justin, that the cure was effected by a command addressed to the demon in the name of Jehovah. But if so, they must have been real demoniacs; for other diseases cannot so easily be ordered away.

It is true, Rationalism has taken all these things into consideration, and has attempted to avoid their force by saying, that these disorders had their origin in a "*fixed idea*," and that people can be cured of them by a single word. But however many cases of such "*fixed ideas*" and their cures by a mere word may be related, the assertion itself involves an absurdity; a momentary cure may, indeed, be effected by a mere word, but no permanent one, as all such pretended cures sufficiently prove. Such "*fixed ideas*" rest upon

a bodily cause, generally a mechanical pressure, caused by one diseased limb pressing upon another, and as long as this cause is not removed, the "fixed idea" will invariably return, although momentarily removed by deception and legerdemain. Had the disorders of the demoniacs been based upon a "fixed idea," no mere word would have removed them.

But this is not yet the end of the many hypotheses that have been started in order to reason these Satanic influences away. It has been admitted, then, that these demoniacs were really sick, that Jesus cured them by his word, but that he accommodated himself to the foolish notions and prejudices of his cotemporaries.

Now it is true, that there is a kind of accommodation that Jesus may have made use of without impairing his veracity or omniscience. Theologians call this formal accommodation; this never implied a falsehood, but conveyed to the Jews a moral truth under a picture or form well known to them. But had there been no truth at the bottom of the Jews' notions concerning demoniacs, Christ would certainly have been guilty of a falsehood by accommodating himself to these notions. This theory, then, is altogether inconsistent with a belief in Christ as the Son of God, who knows all things, and is himself the truth; it must, therefore, be abandoned. The infidel alone has a right to charge error or deception on Jesus, or to convert the Biblical records into myths, dreams, or inventions, as Strauss in his "*Leben Jesu*" has done.

But he that believes in the New Testament as the word of God, must also believe that Christ knew the real causes of all those disorders, and being the mouth of truth, his declarations must be implicitly relied on; it must be taken for granted, that Satanic influences were at the bottom of those disorders, which Christ and his apostles characterized as such. The question, whether such cases occur still in our times, is entirely irrelevant; for it does not follow, that if such cases occurred in the days of Jesus, they must still occur in our days; and much less, that if one or another case of demoniacy is shown to have originated in natural causes, that the same must have been the case with the cures related in the New Testament.

Science, sanctified by the influence of God's Holy Spirit, can, therefore, have no other task than to adopt this thesis as given in the word of God, and to attempt to exhibit it in its connection with the known laws of psychology, physiology, and nosology, to a harmonious view. In solving this task, it takes but one point for granted, namely: that there is such a thing as the kingdom of darkness, consisting of Satan and his rebel angels. Christ, the mouth of truth,

has taught us, that there is such a kingdom of darkness, and since the notion of an "*evil principle*" is absurd and untenable, moral evil being no principle, but the very reverse of it, little or nothing can be advanced against what Christ says of the existence, origin, and design of the devil and his associates. What Christ and his apostles teach concerning the influence of fallen angels on the liberty and moral nature of man, is but too true, as daily observation confirms; and just as little can be said against the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, that these fallen angels exert also, at times at least, an influence on the physical-psychical life of man.

Here, then, begins the province of physiology. Who the fallen angels are and what they can do, we cannot inquire into here, but must believe what Christ and his apostles teach on this subject. But human nature, the connection between soul and body, are subjects of a physiological inquiry, and however dark they may be, still there are some certain and infallible data that will lead to the truth.

We commence, then, with those diseases that are in appearance and symptoms analogous to the sufferings of the demoniacs.

I. Epilepsy. This is not a disease, but only a symptom, that may be owing to various causes, which, however, have their *main seat* in the brain or in the *spinal marrow*.

II. Lunacy. This is no disease either, but a high degree of excitability of the nerves, subject to the changes of the moon, which disorder occurs now and then in Northern regions; but is of far greater occurrence in hotter countries, where the rays of the moon are known to exert a dangerous influence.*

III. Blindness, deafness, curvature of the spine, may likewise be owing to various causes; deafness, for example, may have its origin in a disturbed state of the soul, while nervous persons in hot countries have become blind by looking into the full moon.

IV. Mental derangement, mania, and all "*diseases of the soul*," as they are falsely called, have been proved not to be diseases of the soul, but of the finer bodily organs of the soul. The cured lunatic is the same man again that he was before his disease; he knows again what he knew before, but had forgotten while he was sick. The substance of the soul lies deeper than consciousness. Its substance as to knowledge, will, and character, remains un-

* Those philosophers who brand all belief in the moon's exerting an influence upon man as superstitious and nonsensical, may profit by reading the following works: Kranzenstein vom Einflusse des Mond's auf den menschlichen Körper, Halle, 1747; Reil (Archiv fuer Physiol, 1;) Kretschmar (de astrorum in corpus humanum imperio, Jena, 1820;) with regard to the West Indies, the Journey of Count Goerz, Medicus, History of Periodic Diseases, Book I, ch. i, § 3.

touched, while self-consciousness is broken off by a derangement of the finer bodily organs, that are necessary to it. For body and soul act reciprocally on each other. It is a well-known fact, that the soul, with her will, passions, and notions, affects the organs of the body; for example, the shape of the skull, the expression of physiognomy; (for every vice is but an habitual sin, that, by being continually repeated, affects one organ or another so much, that it becomes entirely independent of the will.) These influences of the soul are slow and gradual. But the body influences the soul also. Such influences are, on the one hand, tempting, stimulating reactions on the powers of volition by the overdone organ; on the other hand, they are such as do not reach the soul herself, but only impede and confound self-consciousness. A brave officer, for instance, receives a wound in his head; a splinter of the skull affects the meninges, and delirium and raving madness are the consequence. Or, a pious, quiet man is taken with a severe fever, in consequence of his blood being poisoned; the activity of his brain is disturbed; he begins to wander and to utter the strangest ideas. Madmen and the like are bodily affected; the bodily disease must be removed, and as soon as this is accomplished, self-consciousness returns. That such bodily diseases and sufferings may be contracted by sins and vices, we do not feel disposed to deny; but sin is in no case the next and immediate cause of mental derangement, but only a mediate one, since an individual may be visited with this calamity without having ever been guilty of predisposing sins, while another, guilty of the very offenses, continues to enjoy good health. The conduct of such persons is no safe criterion either; when self-consciousness is disturbed, the innate wicked desires, freed from all restraint, issue forth from the obscured soul; sins that had been indulged in, especially those of a sexual character, become more violent; but it also happens, that sinful propensities, that had never been developed, appear now on the surface, and are thus very apt to mislead the superficial observer.

All these diseases, from epilepsy to lunacy, are caused, when the nerves or the whole spinal and ganglion systems are affected, by a diseased organ of the body. But it is known, that similar effects upon the nervous system can be brought about in other ways than by deranged organs of the body. We know there is in human nature such a thing as animal magnetism, by which the life of one soul affects that of another, independently of the known laws of matter; we know, for example, that an impure desire in the soul of the magnetizer produces the most violent pain in the magnetized individual; we also know, that by being magnetized, a person can be

made a clairvoyant, his self-consciousness being thus interrupted. More facts than these are not needed to explain the state of demoniacs. If the nervous life of one individual can work upon that of another, in a manner differing from the known laws of matter, there is no reason to doubt, that the same influence can be exerted on it by other beings than human, such as fallen angels or devils are. These influences may be of a different kind, more powerful and formidable than those exerted by human agencies; but their difference can only be gradual, never specific.

There is, then, *no contradiction* between what Christ has taught concerning demoniacs and the result of physiological inquiries; but both fully *harmonize*.

It is not inexplicable either, that many demons should work upon the same individual at the same time; no more so, than that the nervous life of animals can be affected the same way. For there are animals, the horse, for instance, whose nervous life is infinitely more excitable than that of man, and the effect spoken of is exerted not on the spirit, the world of ideas, but on the nerves as the bodily organs of the soul, which the animal has in common with man. And if so, the swine near Gadara offer no insurmountable difficulties; their rushing forward is accounted for by what has been said; and that they found a watery grave in the lake close by, was merely accidental, merely owing to the nature of the place, which was very steep.

ART. VI.—DRAPER'S PHYSIOLOGY.

Human Physiology, Statical and Dynamical; or, the Conditions and Course of the Life of Man, by JOHN WILLIAM DRAPER, M.D., LL.D., Professor of Chemistry and Physiology in the University of New-York. Illustrated with nearly three hundred wood engravings. Harper & Brothers, Franklin Square, New-York. 1856. 8vo.

WHY does opium make us sleep? Because it has a sleepy virtue. Why does the stomach digest food? Because there resides in it a digesting power.

Such were the superficial explanations of natural phenomena which were given in the schools five hundred years ago. A name or a phrase was supposed to contain the philosophical resolution of a problem. Every branch of knowledge was cultivated in that way,

if cultivation it could be called, and the natural result was a crop of chaff, or rather no crop at all. For century after century during which this system had been pursued, no positive scientific advance had ever occurred, the schoolmen, as they are termed, treading round and round in the same unvarying track, solving, resolving, and dissolving the same questions without end.

But now if we ask, Why does opium make a man sleep? the reply is altogether different. Your family doctor will tell you, Well! it contains a certain alkaline body, morphia by name, which is readily obtainable from it, in a crystalline form, by chemical processes, and which is one of an extensive class of substances having a powerful action on the nervous system, some of them acting in one and some in another way. Morphia disposes the brain to rapid destruction by the agency of the arterial blood, a disturbance which gives rise to the hallucinations occurring when only small doses of the drug have been taken; but if larger quantities have been used, violent symptoms of narcotic poisoning ensue, and if still larger, even death; the destruction of the organ occurring so rapidly as altogether to overbalance the natural and leisurely processes of repair.

Or, if you ask, Why does the stomach digest? modern science answers, that it is due to the exudation of a sour juice which is prepared in myriads of little cavities on its interior surface, gastric juice it is called. The chemists have analyzed this substance, and found out what its composition is. Now if you take the ingredients they have thus discovered, and mix them together, you make an artificial gastric juice, of which if a portion be placed in a glass bottle along with any common articles of food, and kept for a few hours at a gentle warmth, the food in the bottle undergoes digestion, producing the same products as would have arisen in the stomach, if the operation had been conducted in a natural way.

From these two examples we may perceive the intrinsic difference between the philosophy of the Middle Ages and the science of modern times. The former offers you explanations, which, properly considered, are no explanations at all; the latter deals with the tangible and positive, not only giving a clear and precise answer, but what is of infinite value, a fertile one. The barrenness of the old system, and the numberless advantages which are daily accruing from the new, must be altogether attributed to the essential difference between them here pointed out.

Nor is it alone in such small and isolated questions as those just considered, that a resort has been had to these different methods of philosophizing. Great branches of science might be adduced as offering examples of the result of these methods of treatment. The

most perfect of all the sciences, astronomy, offers an illustration. In its earlier period, while it was yet in its astrological phase, every star was supposed to be inhabited by some spirit, who could exercise an influence on terrestrial affairs, and even regulate the life of man. Hence it became of the utmost importance to ascertain the position of the planets at the time of the birth of each man, or to cast his nativity, as it was termed; for it was supposed that from the indications which might be so gathered, predictions could be offered respecting his future career, whether fortunate or unfortunate, good or wicked. It need hardly be added, that such a system as this led to a most miserable fatalism, and contained within it an absolute denial of the free will of man. Yet we must not suppose that such an absurd doctrine was embraced only by fortune tellers, quacks, and impostors; on the contrary, some of the brightest names that have adorned science might be mentioned as its supporters. Kepler, who prepared the way for the immortal discoveries of Newton, could offer no better explanation of the motions of the planets than to attribute them to the will of the spirit that thus inhabited them. His explanations have totally passed away, or only serve to excite the curiosity and surprise of the student of astronomical antiquities; but the numerical facts that Kepler ascertained by persevering inquiry, still endure, and the great doctrine of universal gravitation, which has given celebrity to Newton over all other scientific discoverers, was their necessary consequence.

Just as it was in astronomy, so it has been, and, indeed, we should almost be justified in saying, so it still is in physiology. This science, which undertakes to explain the manner of action of each portion of the system of man, and of all portions conjointly, or in the aggregate, lies necessarily at the foundation of all medical knowledge. How can a physician undertake to restore the action of parts that are working amiss, unless he knows precisely what the proper action ought to be? How could a mechanic be expected to repair a machine, unless he was familiar with the construction of its different parts, and the manner in which they were intended to work on one another? Indeed, it is physiology which constitutes medicine a science, and relieves it from the imputation of being a mere art.

As in other branches of human knowledge, the fanciful application of a word or phrase, by giving an imaginary explanation of facts, has acted as an obstacle to scientific advance, the same has occurred in physiology. Here and there, little by little, it is true, the right direction has been taken, but it has only been in isolated cases, and the science has hitherto never been submitted to the proper method of treatment in the aggregate or mass. What we here mean may

be readily enough understood. Suppose that the question is the nature of vision, or in what manner the eye acts. The speculative philosophy answers you in its customary plausible, but barren way; the eye sees because it is *alive*, and therefore cannot see after it is *dead*. But very different is the manner in which exact science treats the inquiry. It starts by explaining to you the properties of the rays of light as they have been ascertained by actual experiment; it shows how the transparent portions of the eye act upon such rays in the self-same manner as ordinary lenses of glass would do, and since among such artificial glass lenses there are some which, by reason of their shape, act far more perfectly than others, it takes delight in incidentally pointing out as a signal instance of the wisdom of the Creator, that of all possible forms of curvature which might have been given to the eye, the one actually used may be mathematically shown to be by far the best. It shows how the iris, that circular membrane which gives to the eye the color that we see on looking at it, hazel, or blue, or black, is a curiously devised contrivance, in principle the same as the perforated plate in spy-glasses and telescopes, a diaphragm it is called, the object of which is to regulate the quantity of light introduced into the instrument. But the natural iris-diaphragm is infinitely more perfect in construction than our artificial invention in this, that it is automatic or self-acting, opening more widely when the light is feeble, to let more rays in, and closing to a just degree when the light is bright. Hereupon exact science makes another note of admiration, drawing attention to the superiority of the works of God and the inferiority of the works of man. Then it goes on to show that there are formed upon the back of the eye, inverted images of such objects as we may be looking at, in their proper or natural colors, and in the right gradation of light and shade. With a pride which we shall readily forgive, it boasts that it has accomplished almost, though not quite, as good a result in the invention of the camera obscura, the instrument that you may examine in the rooms of any daguerreotypist or photographer. Then it draws attention to the circumstance that all the interior of the globe of the eye is covered over with a black pigment, for the same reason that we cover with black paint the interior of optical instruments, and also for the purpose of enabling the optic nerve to be duly affected by luminous impressions, so that they may be transmitted thereby to the brain. Nor is it only to the special action of the eye as an optical instrument that its explanations are limited; it also dwells on the connected and collateral contrivances incidentally resorted to for maintaining it in good order. Just as a man who has occasion to use his spectacles, breathes lightly

on the glasses, and then wipes them with his handkerchief, to free them from all dimness and dust, so the front part of the eye, exposed to the impurities of the air, requires to be wetted and wiped; and this is accomplished by the aid of an apparatus which curiously distributes upon the surface little streams of water so long as the eye is open and exposed to the air; tears we call this water when it comes too abundantly, and drops over the cheek. The wiping is done by the eyelids, which exercise their winking motion without ever growing tired. Even in the manner of that motion, exact science finds a source of delightful contemplation, as manifesting in a minute particular, purpose and design, the use of a means for the accomplishment of an end, for the eyelids do not close, as one might say, square on each other, but with a movement from their outer to their inner corner, like the movement of a pair of scissors from the pivot to the end; and this guides the little accumulation of water to a small orifice that may be seen in the inner corner of the eye, through which passage it finds its way to the upper part of the nose. Hence it is removed by evaporation into the air which is drawn into the lungs by inspiration and cast out by expiration. So the act of breathing is incidentally, but very effectually applied for the getting rid of the dirty water that has been used in cleansing the front of the eye. Hereupon, again, exact science makes another note, directing us with intelligent delight to observe how those principles which chemists say are the most effectual in promoting the evaporation of water are in this case introduced, a warm surface and a draft of air. At this point we will pause for a moment, to say a word respecting the barrenness of the old and the fruitfulness of the new philosophy. Is there anything that can give a more profound gratification to an intelligent mind, than thus to discover in such minute particulars the evidences of design, wisdom, reason? Judged upon this principle, how utterly without significance and without worth it is to say, The eye sees because it is alive. Does that advance one at all in an appreciation of its qualities and manner of action?

But also in the other and perhaps more important regard, what a contrast there is as respects fruitfulness or utility between the two systems! On this point we the more willingly dwell, because we have written above a pretty sweeping denunciation of the philosophy of the Middle Ages. Now it so happens, that the very example we have here under consideration, was the first instance in which the philosophy of the schoolmen was broken through, and a resort to more exact methods attempted. We often say that modern science takes its rise from the works of Lord Bacon; but the truth is, as may be ascertained by any one who will give himself the trouble to

look into the matter, that our real obligation is to a far greater man, who preceded him by some centuries—Roger Bacon—greater in this essential circumstance, that he not only thoroughly knew the fundamental principles of modern exact science, but personally carried them into application, a thing which Lord Bacon never did. To Roger Bacon is due the first explanation of the optical action of the eye, and to him also we owe that noble invention, which has made the whole human race his debtor, spectacles. Spectacles, of which it may be truly said, that they have worked the miracle of giving sight to those who would be otherwise blind; no inconsiderable portion of the population in civilized communities. In our day we cannot realize the difficulties which were thrown in the way of the introduction of this invention, and the opprobrium with which its great author was visited. For, said the Schoolmen, since all the works of God are perfect, and the eye is one of his works, it is not only presumption, but even impiety to attempt to improve thereupon. How dares insolent man attempt to transform an eye which has been made long-sighted or short-sighted, into one of another kind? It is well for us in these later times that the reign of visionary speculation is over, and that we live under the dominion of Common Sense.

One after another the greater sciences have escaped from this pseudo-metaphysical bondage. Astronomy cast off her fetters at the time of Newton, chemistry at that of Priestly. The progress of the latter science, and the improvement of anatomy, were indispensably necessary before physiology could enter on the same career. Here and there we notice isolated instances of improvement in the explanation of the action of portions of the system of man; but no general attempt has been made to revolutionize and model physiology in accordance with these principles, until the publication of the book the title of which is at the head of this article. Dr. Draper has for many years been known as Professor of Chemistry and Physiology in the University of New-York, and, therefore, brings to the enterprise to which he has thus devoted himself, the experience which arises from the habit of instruction. Indeed, the remodeling of physiology necessarily demands the possession of a knowledge of the two sciences which he represents, for the doctrines of the one are indissolubly interwoven with those of the other. In other respects, the times are favorable for the successful accomplishment of such an undertaking; and on all hands intelligent men as well as physicians are disposed to look upon it with favor.

In a volume of about six hundred and fifty pages, accordingly, our author makes his attempt. He treats his subject in two divisions,

Statcal and Dynamical, as he terms them, in accordance with the customary arrangement which obtains among writers on physical science. Under the first of these heads, he considers man in a state of equilibrium, particularly in the condition of adult life, and in their succession examines the various operations needful to maintain him in that state. Among these are the functions of digestion of the food, the manner of its absorption when duly elaborated or prepared, and of its conveyance into the circulatory system, by which it is carried to every part. The causes of the circulation of the blood; the manner in which air is introduced by breathing; the reaction of the food and the blood upon one another, and how the warmth of the body necessarily arises therefrom, are next considered. The structure and mode of action of the brain and nervous system, so far as they are understood, are next shown; and the connection of that system with the muscular, the object of which is the production of locomotion, is explained.

In this portion of his work he likewise gives the structure and functions of the various organs of sense, seeing, hearing, smelling, touching, and tasting.

He then turns to the consideration of the career of man through all his various states, from the first moment of perceptible commencement of life to its close, dwelling upon those portions which commend themselves to attention from their importance more in detail, and dealing with the others in a briefer way. We shall presently give some extracts from his book, as examples of his methods of discussing such questions, and shall here take the opportunity of remarking, that we cannot help thinking that he has done himself injustice in that part of the preface in which he speaks of the amount of contribution of original matter which he has himself made to the subject. Though he has seen fit to speak of it in terms of almost insignificance, those who are familiar with the state of the case can have no hesitation in asserting, that no scientific book ever yet issued from the American press, has contained anything like the same amount of original material, derived from laborious and costly experiment. Indeed, how is it possible that it should be otherwise, in an attempt which affects an entire science? The labor and experiment required for the dovetailing and patching together of parts heretofore isolated, is by no means insignificant; but our author's claim to consideration is in reality far higher than that, since some of the most important topics in the science are experimentally discussed from their fundamental principles; among such, we may mention the functions of respiration and of circulation of the blood.

As for the rest, every means has been taken to insure to the book success in its mission. It is profusely illustrated with wood engravings, some of which are of great beauty, and said to be among the finest specimens of that art hitherto produced in our country. To a very great degree, this excellence is to be attributed to the introduction of a method of photography invented by the author, and capable of being applied not only for the copying of anatomical dissections, but also for the display of objects which have been magnified superficially many thousands of times by the microscope. The publishers have also done their part of the duty, the work being printed on very fine paper, and in a style reminding one of an English book.

As examples of the style of the work, we make the following extracts:

"OF THE VOICE. For the production of the sounds necessary for intercommunication among the higher animals, and particularly for the speech of man, it might be supposed that some complicated and elaborate contrivance must needs be resorted to. This object is, however, accomplished by merely employing on its escape from the system, the wasted product of respiration, the breath, which, as it issues outward through the respiratory passages, sets in motion a simple mechanism, and thereby originates all the exquisite modulations of song, and all the expressive utterances of speech. Is it not to be admired, that thus out of dead and dismissed matter, results of so high an order, materially and mentally, are obtained?"

"What might be termed the comparative physiology of the voice, is very simple. It appears first in invertebrate animals, as a monotonous noise or cry, which, gradually in the higher tribes, becomes more varied in loudness and note. It is worthy of remark, that in the different stages of his existence, man himself furnishes an illustration of this course. Voiceless before birth, with a piteous or monotonous cry in early infancy, articulate speech and song are the result of education, and through these the power is eventually gained of expressing the most refined emotions and the most elevated ideas. The solitary bell-like sound that the nudibranchiate gasteropods emit, thus produces by its successive improvements, a wonderful result at last."

"Among insects, the modes of producing sounds are very various, some effecting it by percussion, some by friction of horny organs. In others the extremity of the trachea through which the air escapes is accommodated with vibrating membranes. According to Burmeister, the contractions of the muscles of the wings, which are brought vigorously into action during flying, occasion an alternate pressure and relaxation upon the tracheal tubes. The air thus passing in and out, throws into vibration the valves of the spiracle, in the same manner as the vibrating spring of the accordeon. These vibrating plates of insects are the rudiments of what will become the perfect vocal apparatus in man. Again, in others the swiftly recurring beating of the wings produces a sound, as, for example, in the mosquito. Among vertebrate animals, those which breathe the air are vocal, nearly all fishes being mute. From fishes, as we pass upward, the sound and the instrument which makes it, increase together in complexity. From a single chink, the air expelled from the respiratory tracts of snakes, by the contraction of their abdominal muscles, issues forth as a mere hiss; the sound being increased in the frog by the development of resonant cavities. From these simple noises, we are conducted to the musical notes of birds, some of which are of exquisite purity and sweetness.

In these the vocal glottis is situated at the bifurcation of the trachea, another glottis being above for the final escape of the air. These vertebrated animals first introduce us to the mechanism for articulate speech, the raven and parrot being able to pronounce words with distinctness. The articulation is effected as in man, by the motions of the tongue and other portions of the mouth."

"For the further consideration of this subject, it is necessary to understand that there is a distinction between song and speech. Song is produced by the glottis, speech by the mouth; or, perhaps, a more correct statement would be, that the larynx is the organ of song, the mouth of that form of speech that we call whispering, and for which nothing is required but a stream of air issuing from the fauces; the tongue and other organs giving it articulation; but for audible speech a noise is created in the larynx, and modified by articulation in the mouth."—Page 351.

In the following passages he is speaking of the nature of dreaming:

"Dreams never strike us with surprise, no matter what may be the extraordinary scenery they present, no matter how great the violations of truth and reality. The dead may appear with the most astonishing clearness; their voices, perhaps long forgotten, may be heard; we may be transported to places where we have spent past years of our lives, combinations of the most grotesque and impossible kinds may be spread before us; we accept all as a reality, perhaps not even suspecting that we are dreaming. The germs from which have originated all these strange combinations, are impressions stored up in the registering ganglia of the brain, more particularly in its optic thalami. These, as outward impressions have for the time ceased, are enabled to attract the attention of the mind, and emerge from their latent state. That dreams originate in such impressions is illustrated by the history of the blind, who still dream of things that they formerly saw. Thus it is stated that Huber, after he had been blind for fifty years, still dreamed of things he had seen when a boy. But little explanation can be given of the manner in which these vestiges may be grouped, a grouping which is so frequently in violation of all correctness, that a dream that presents us with a logical sequence of effects, and which we recognize on awakening to be naturally true, is sure to be an impressive one; and yet we cannot doubt that the causes which suggest dreams are often purely physical, as when, in dropsy of the chest, the dreamer fancies he is drowning, or even suffers under the same delusion when his hand is dipped in water; or when a candle is carried into the room, and he awakens stricken with terror that the house is on fire; or on the occurrence of noise he believes that he is in a thunder-storm, or perhaps on a field of battle."

"One of the most extraordinary phenomena presented in the dreaming state, is the instantaneous manner in which a long series of events may be offered to the mind, the exciting cause being truly of only a momentary duration. Some sudden noise arouses us, and in the act of waking, a long drama connected with that noise appears before us; or in like manner we are disturbed perhaps by a flash of lightning, and with that flash occurs a dream which seems to us to occupy a space of hours or even days, so many are the incidents with which it is filled. It has long been known, that a like peculiarity has offered itself to those who have suffered by drowning, and have been subsequently restored. They have related that in their moment of supreme agony, the whole series of events of their past life has, as it were, flowed in in an instant upon them, with the most appalling vividness; their good and evil works, and even the most trifling incidents, presenting themselves with distinctness, a tide of memory. And, doubtless, it is owing to like causes, that under the influence of opium or other narcotic drugs, the relations of space and time are so totally destroyed, that we seem to live through a century in a single night, or to take in our view scenery, the distances and magnitudes of

which are utterly beyond the reach of mortal vision. It has been truly said that the province of dreams is one of intense exaggeration. It is so in a double sense, for with equal facility we spread out a single and perhaps insignificant circumstance, so that it occupies the entire night, or we crowd a thousand strange, though perhaps connected representations into the twinkling of an eye."—Page 555.

We had marked several other passages for quotation, but as our limits are already reached, these must suffice. There can be no doubt that Dr. Draper's work has made a profound impression upon his own profession, as is shown by its immediate adoption as a text-book in many of our medical colleges. The general non-professional reader, who feels an interest in the delightful science of physiology, will find in it a clear statement of the existing condition of that subject, set forth from the point of view which we have indicated above. He will find in the perusal of it an additional pleasure from the excellent manner in which it has been printed, and the difficulties of the subject cleared up by the numerous and beautiful engravings that are given.

ART. VII.—DR. SCHAFF AND METHODISM.

DR. SCHAFF'S repeated assaults upon German Methodism, rendered doubly aggravating by the fact, that at the very time he published the most odious charges against us, he began his contributions to the *Methodist Quarterly*, were answered from time to time in the *Christian Apologist*, the organ of German Methodism. It would have been well, perhaps, had we Germans, in addition, at the time, exposed Dr. Schaff to our Anglo-American brethren. Yet, as the attacks were more virulent than dangerous, and consisted more in abuse than in reasonable and logical criticism, it was thought best to pass them over in silence, or to leave their refutation to some of our leading Anglo-American brethren, who have been foremost in the prosecution of the great Methodist mission work among the Germans.

I speak here of Dr. Schaff's attacks upon us in his "*Kirchenfreund*," a theological monthly published at Mercersburg. This publication being in German, came to the eyes of comparatively few Americans. Being, however, the only German theological review in the United States, it was read with interest by American theolo-

gians, who understood German and felt an interest in German views. To some one of these in our own connection, we indeed looked for some answer to Dr. Schaff; and when, in the spring of 1855, Dr. Schaff's book on "The Political, Social, and Ecclesiastical Condition of the United States" appeared, in which he reiterated some of his contemptuous sneers against Methodism, we Germans were gratified at an article by Professor NADAL in the *Quarterly*, in which the intent of Dr. Schaff in his book to injure and traduce Methodism, was ably shown. Professor Nadal's critique rendered it unnecessary, on the part of the German Methodists, to translate into English, a very able and thorough exposé of Dr. Schaff, which Rev. L. NIPPERT, one of our missionaries in Germany, had written for the Apologist. And this remaining unanswered, the matter was with us allowed to rest.

In the January number of our *Quarterly*, however, appeared over Dr. M'Clintock's name, a remonstrance against the critique of Professor Nadal, and an assertion, that the imputation to Dr. Schaff of an evil animus against the Methodist Episcopal Church was wrong. This appearing in the *Quarterly*, coming from Dr. M'Clintock, having the weight of his name, imposes upon me the necessity of placing, through the same medium, before Dr. M'Clintock and the Church, some extracts from Dr. Schaff's previous writings, (in the *Kirchenfreund*.) which have, in all probability, hitherto escaped attention, and which seem to me to place beyond doubt, the long-continued *evil animus* of Dr. Schaff against our denomination in general, as a Christian body, and against German Methodism in particular.

The first number of "*The Kirchenfreund*" appeared in January, 1848, and the second number contained a letter from the Rev. Mr. Rauschenbusch to a missionary society in Germany, which did great injustice to us. Without giving the name of his informer, or of the Methodist preacher, or of the place where the scene he represents should have taken place, the writer said among other things:

"The prevailing impression of the Germans here with regard to the Methodists is this: their only aim is to strengthen their party, to convert us by any means whatever, not so much to God as to Methodism; and those who are thus converted, think a great deal more of their forms and ceremonies, than of charity, truth, and honesty. A certain man assured me, he had attended a sacramental service among the Methodists, and had from the beginning declared he would not partake of the sacrament. Nevertheless, the Methodist preacher urged upon him and some others, Why will you not also come and partake of the sacrament with us? Do not think you are not worthy, you were not prepared; no one goes worthily to the sacramental table; therefore come, come on! Such an invitation had deeply offended this man, as he saw in it nothing else than the intention to bring him nearer to Methodism, by partaking with them of the sacrament."

In animadverting in the *Apologist* upon this report, I expressed the hope, that the "Kirchenfreund" would in future have recourse to more reliable sources concerning the German missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, than he found in Rev. Mr. Rauschenbusch's letter, published in Germany, reminding Dr. Schaff that this gentleman had a few weeks before made a public retraction of and apology for his strictures on Methodism, and requesting him, as a matter of justice, to publish also in the *Kirchenfreund* this retraction, which I sent him by mail, and which would not have occupied a full column in his periodical. Professor Schaff, however, paid no attention to my request, although I had accompanied it with the following respectful announcement of his theological monthly, giving its prospectus, terms, etc. :

"The want of a learned theological periodical in the German language has been felt for some time in this country, by those who are familiar, and desire to remain familiar, with the German theological literature. Professor Schaff is at present, perhaps, the only German scholar in the United States who possesses the learning, talents, and connections with the old country, requisite to satisfy this want properly. We therefore bid his "Kirchenfreund" welcome, although we have to expect in him a decided opponent, which he has already proved himself in the numbers that have appeared.

"Professor Schaff seems to consider it his peculiar calling to redeem this country from 'the plague of sects.' Whatever lies outside of the Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Reformed, and United Protestant Churches, is to him sectarian, has no Church character; whatever is not enveloped in the 'Folie historischer Prærogative,' to apply one of his own terms, must not dare to arrogate to itself the venerable name of the *Church*. Even the total separation of Church from State, which is, thanks be to God, enjoyed in America, appears to Professor Schaff, at least for the present, a great evil. Methodism, and everything cognate to it, as protracted meetings, revivals, the mourner's bench, in short, the so-called New Measures, in the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, form the direct opposite pole to the High Church stand-point, from which the *Kirchenfreund* will view the theological questions of the day. This will, however, rather increase than diminish our interest in this periodical. We are not afraid of learned criticism, but expect it from so able an opponent."

Dr. Schaff took no notice of these remarks, and with the beginning of the year 1849, the *Kirchenfreund* was no more sent to us as exchange, although we continued to send the *Apologist*. Accidentally, however, the April number of that year came into my hands, which contained the following review of Methodism :

"In the second period of the history of the German Church in America, several new sects, almost entirely of a *Methodistical* character, seceded from the two principal Protestant Churches, and have grown up to be numerous communities. *Wesley* and *Whitefield* are no doubt to be ranked among the most distinguished and venerable men in the history of Christian life. Their labors had something truly *reformatory*, and especially the lower classes and the heathens owe them everlasting gratitude. Constrained by the love of Christ, and full of pure, burning zeal for the salvation of immortal souls, they have, as true Evangelists, by their powerful calls to repentance, shaken thousands

from the sleep of sin. They breathed into the dry bones of the English Episcopal Church (from which they, however, never intended themselves to separate) a new spirit and new life. They became the founders of an imposing community, which, next to Puritanism, is the prevailing religious power in the United States; and they have undeniably done much toward the spread of personal practical Christianity in this country. But as the most glorious human work has its foibles and imperfections, that no flesh may glory, and gradually degenerate, so it was also with Methodism in many respects, at least in America, and to a greater extent than with Pietism in Germany. This is especially applicable to the German Methodists. We will not deny to them their zeal and their merits in the salvation of many souls, which, without them, might perhaps have died in their sins; we consider them a salutary chastening rod for dead or sleepy preachers; but with all this they have taken the very worst excrescences from their English patterns. To judge from all the descriptions, the proceedings in their worship, especially in the camp-meetings, when an awakening breaks loose, (*los ist.*) must be exceedingly fanatical and chaotic. There is a stamping and bouncing, jumping and falling, crying and howling, groaning and sighing, all praying in confusion, a rude singing of the most vulgar street songs, so that it must be loathing to an educated man, and fill the serious Christian with painful emotions. Of 'a reasonable service' we can of course see here nothing; the God of order is perverted into a protector of disorder and fanaticism. This is a barbarous Christianity. Luther and the Reformers would no doubt have condemned this people at once, as fanatics and heretical sectaries, and even John Wesley, if we mistake not, has somewhere said, with reference to this fanaticism, that the emptiest barrels make the greatest noise. To these extravagances in public worship come other very dangerous errors, an opposition to culture of mind and learning, an opposition, which springs not from humility, but mostly from an overbearing contempt of others, and from intellectual imbecility, and which results too often in the ruin of a practical religious life, and trains up a wild, unrestrained youth; then the uncharitable anathematizing of other denominations, as if there was no piety at all to be found in them, because they have not adopted the new measures; again, the perversion of justification by faith into a justification by feeling; in short, the one-sided conception of Christianity, as an indistinct matter of feeling, while true Christianity aims to pervade equally and harmoniously the *whole* man and *all* the faculties of the soul; the extravagant importance put upon self-invented means of conversion, and a conscious or unconscious depreciation of the regular, divinely ordained means of grace, especially of the sacraments, which in their system become empty signs and ceremonies; finally, the doctrine of the attainability in this life of a moral perfection, which rests upon a Pelagian basis, ignoring the deep abyss of sin and nourishing the most dangerous kind of pride, spiritual vanity, pharisaism. We shall have to say more of this unsound piety in the third period of the German Church in America, when it penetrated even the Lutheran and Reformed Churches. We will now give a brief description of the Methodistical sects in chronological order, the first three of which are independent ecclesiastical bodies; the fourth is an integral part of the English Methodist Episcopal Church."

Passing over his remarks on the origin and present number of preachers and members of the United Brethren, Albrights and Winebrennerians, I will only notice what he says respecting the German organ of the United Brethren and that of the Albrights. His judgment on these two religious German papers is singularly mild, compared with his remarks on the Christian Apologist. Of the paper of the United Brethren he says:

"It is no great honor to our literature; but it is so modest and anxious to learn, that it would be cruel to reproach it on account of its sins against German grammar and logic. Where active faith and honest zeal are shown, we ought to bear with patience such weaknesses."

Of the Albright paper he says:

"It is edited by a European, Mr. Gehr,* and stands exalted above the prevailing spirit of the association; and if it is not interrupted in its quiet and modest sphere may exercise a very salutary, transforming influence upon its readers."

He proceeds to notice us as follows:

"The German Methodists stand in regular connection with the *English Methodist Episcopal Church*. Although of a later date, and laboring more among the immigrant Germans in the West than among the Germans born in this country, they owe their origin and growth to the same evils as their predecessors. Their founder is William Nast, originally a Lutheran from Wurtemberg, who sowed his wild oats (*verwildert war*) in the University of Tübingen, but was awakened in the bosom of an English Methodist family in America. For about ten years he edits, at Cincinnati, the *Christian Apologist*, a spiritless (insipid) paper, full of unsalted piety and vain praises of camp-meetings and awakenings, radical in politics, like the most vulgar daylies, from which he borrows the news about Germany; ignoble and Jesuitical in his polemics, robbing his colleagues frequently of articles without giving credit, but otherwise caring little for what takes place in Christendom, except where it suits his purpose. We would be disposed to esteem a man, who, according to Loeher, has at least shown zeal in the salvation of immortal souls and suffered much persecution, even if we cannot agree with his theological and ecclesiastical stand-point; but such self-laudation and dishonest lawyer's tricks as are the order of the day in the *Apologist*, and of which not only 'The Lutheran,' and the German Reformed Church paper, but disinterested parties have so often complained, are entirely unworthy of a Christian and of a gentleman. Liberally aided by the English Methodist Church, the missionary operations under the guidance of Nast have had considerable success among the recent German immigrants in the West; but they have also called forth the most violent opposition and often burning hatred in good and bad persons. There are now fifty or sixty traveling preachers, all of them without theological preparation. While the membership of the English Methodist Church has been lately considerably decreasing, she finds to some degree a reparation of her loss in this flourishing mission work, which the lower classes of Germans, who feel a religious want, will embrace in large numbers, so long as the Lutheran, Reformed, and United Churches do not make greater exertions to satisfy that want in a sound manner.

"These sects, whose rapid spread is only to be accounted for by the lethargy and neglect of the German Evangelical Church, are a serious reproach to her. The most successful and noble mode of warfare against Methodism would, no doubt, be to imitate, though in a different spirit, and surpass their missionary zeal. Inasmuch as a Methodistical Christianity, in spite of all its unsound excrescences in doctrine and life, is preferable to infidelity and death, we might rejoice at its progress among the thousands of neglected and straying German immigrants, according to the principle of St. Paul, 'if only Christ is

* Soon after this was written he became a minister in the German Reformed Church.

preached; but there is, on the other side, too much ground to fear that these sects, apart from their doctrinal errors, repulse entirely from the Gospel, by their mode of operating, as many, that might yet be gained, as they convert to their side; that they therefore destroy as much as they may do good."

Thus wrote Dr. Schaff in 1849. His personalities against me were so unwarranted, so utterly void of the shadow of a proof, the mere echo of papers most bitterly and unscrupulously opposed to our cause, of so low and degrading a nature, that they bore their own refutation on their face to every reader of the Apologist. And I cannot bring myself to think, that a single word of defense against such charges is necessary, or would be in place before the English Christian public. In spite of all such calumnies, the Christian Apologist is loved and esteemed by thousands, and has attained a subscription of nearly eight thousand, while our membership amounts only to between fourteen and fifteen thousand.

With regard to the general accusations of the *Kirchenfreund* against Methodism, I remarked at the time:

"They have been so often and so thoroughly considered and refuted in the Apologist, that we might expect to be treated by our German Protestant sister Churches, as the English Methodist Church is treated by nearly all the Evangelical denominations of this country. But, alas! our defenses of Methodism against its opponents, as they appeared from time to time in the Christian Apologist, Professor Schaff considers an unpardonable want of modesty, of which the organs of the United and Albrecht Brethren are not guilty, on which account they are graciously treated by him. Be this as it may, we know the calling of Methodism.

"Professor Schaff says, 'Wesley's labors had something *reformatory*.' Yes, sir, and *just on that account* he was persecuted in the most bitter manner by those in whose Church the reformation should take place; among his persecutors there were as learned and orthodox men as Professor Schaff is. But inasmuch as the German Protestant Churches need a Reformation as well as the Church of England did in the time of Wesley, and inasmuch as that form of Christianity which the world calls now Methodism, is as well adapted for the Germans as for the English, it has pleased God to let German Methodism arise. This German Methodism, so long as it has to *reform*, must expect the same ignominious treatment which English Methodism had to suffer. And we ask of those who so bitterly persecute the German Methodists, as Professor Schaff does, this one favor, that *they* cease to extol Wesley and Whitefield to the skies. Does a fountain send forth at the same place, sweet water and bitter? Take care that the woe does not fall upon you, which the Lord had to pronounce upon the scribes and Pharisees, Matt. xxiii, 29. We fear Professor Schaff would have treated the first lay preachers of John Wesley, had he been his cotemporary, as he does Methodism now. Nor can we thank him for the tribute of praise he pays to us when he says: 'We will not deny their zeal and their merits in the salvation of many souls, which, without them, might perhaps have died in their sins; we consider them a salutary chastening rod for dead or sleepy preachers; but with all this they have taken the worst excrescences from their English patterns.' These are hollow, self-contradictory phrases, of which a man who has studied logic, a professor of theology, should not be guilty. *How* can those, with whom, as he adds immediately, 'there can be no reasonable service, who pervert the God of order into a protector of

disorder and fanaticism, whom Luther and the Reformers, without any doubt, would have at once condemned as fanatics and heretical sectaries; *how can such men* have any 'merit in the salvation of many souls, which, without them, would perhaps have died in their sins?' Whoever knows anything of true conversion to God, knows that such senseless fanaticism, and such dangerous errors in doctrine, as Professor Schaff ascribes to German Methodism, are incompatible with a true enlightening and renewing by the Holy Ghost. However, according to Professor Schaff, the Methodists have not true conversion or genuine Christianity, but a particular kind of Christianity, which he calls '*barbarous*;' nevertheless, 'he prefers it, in spite of all its unsound exerecences in doctrine and life, to infidelity and death.' We are sorry we cannot accept even this compliment. No, Professor Schaff, if the Methodistical Christianity were what you represent it, it would be a monstrous deformity, whose transformation would appear to us far more difficult than the conversion of an infidel. However, the Bible knows nothing of such a deformed Christianity, and the Methodists know of no other Christianity than the Bible Christianity, which, as the professor says very justly, is 'not a mere indistinct matter of feeling, but pervades equally and harmoniously the *whole* man and *all* the faculties of the soul.' We deprecate, therefore, all such self-contradictory and hypocritical compliments, which only dishonor the name of our Saviour, and bring the work of conversion in bad repute with the world. We would rather be called heathens, publicans, heretics, or infidels, than monstrously deformed men and women in Christ Jesus. We are either children of God or children of the devil, converted or unconverted, regenerate or unregenerate. If we are the children of God, we cannot 'call forth,' as Professor Schaff says, '*a burning hatred in good persons, as well as in wicked ones.*' Every one that is born of God will love us, and only the worldly and carnally minded will hate us. And apart from this, we cannot comprehend how *a burning hatred, even against sinners*, can dwell in the breast of a *good* man; and still more incomprehensible is it to us, how we can awaken '*this burning hatred in good people by our missionary labors*, without which, perhaps, many souls would have died in their sins.' This is a theological problem, the solution of which we must leave to the learning of Professor Schaff.

"We have said more than we intended on the *general* accusations of the Kirchenfreund against Methodism, and will only add one more remark. Professor Schaff acknowledges that he does not know German Methodism *from his own inspection*. He makes up his caricature from mere hearsay. 'To judge from all the descriptions,' are his own words. The only authority he quotes against us personally, is the frivolous book of Locher, a scoffing infidel. What a melancholy lack, not only of the brotherly love which Christians should bear toward each other, but of that universal love, that sense of justice and equity, which even the old heathen Romans had, not to condemn any one without proof, is necessary, upon mere hearsay, to pronounce such an uncharitable judgment against his fellow-men and fellow-Christians, as Professor Schaff dared to pronounce upon the Methodists! How much more worthy of a theological professor and of the editor of a learned theological periodical would it have been, if Professor Schaff, instead of making groundless and ignominious charges against the Methodists, had thoroughly reviewed, examined, and refuted that Methodistical doctrine of Christian perfection, which appears to him so unsound and dangerous, and which was vindicated in the Apologist in a series of editorial articles; or, indeed, any of our doctrines and usages, as they are set forth in our books and tracts."

In the light of the above documents we now ask the reader, *had not Dr. Schaff an evil animus against the Methodist Episcopal Church? If he had no design to injure Methodism*, would he not have,

1. Readily complied in 1848 with my reasonable request, after having published certain strictures on Methodism, to publish also the author's retraction of these strictures? Would he not then have made at least some reply to my respectful notice of his *Kirchenfreund*, and to my readiness to answer any charges against Methodism, that were substantiated by a reference to our books and tracts?

2. Would he, could he have written in such a spirit against Methodism, as he did in the April number of the *Kirchenfreund* in 1849? Would he have poured all his wrath upon the German missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and treated with comparative mildness "the other Methodist sects, the United Brethren and Albrights," with whom those objectionable accidental features or "excrescences" of Methodism, as Dr. Schaff calls them, namely, the excitement in public worship, etc., are found to a greater degree than with us? Would he have singled out, as the victim of personal abuse, the editor of the *Christian Apologist*, who had never given him any personal offense; but, on the contrary, when visiting Germany in 1844, had been very kindly treated by Dr. Schaff's friends, who expressed a warm desire that we might get acquainted with each other and form a mutual friendship?

3. Would he not have noticed my reply to his attack in 1849, either retracting what he had published only from hearsay, or trying to prove his assertions?

Finally, would he have reiterated his gross misrepresentations of Methodism in Germany in 1854?

Well said Rev. L. Nippert in the letter he addressed to Dr. Schaff, through the medium of the *Christian Apologist*:

"I could scarcely conceive how you, who, bewailing the divisions of the Protestants in America, comforted yourself only with the hope, that all these sects would yet form a union, and out of them would finally arise the Church of the Future, could find it in your heart, by such addresses and publications, to remove the object of your hope to still greater distance, to make the gulf of separation still deeper, and to excite animosities between those who should and could dwell peaceably together? How you, a messenger of peace, could not refrain from sowing the seed of prejudice and discord even in another hemisphere? How you, as a Christian, can attribute to others, doctrines, principles, and usages, of which you evidently neither had nor desired proper information? How you, a learned man, ten years a resident in America, could make such false assertions against a Church, the most numerous and the best known in the land?"

With regard to Dr. Schaff's favorite charge against the Methodist ministry, that "they are too often actuated by the impure motives of proselyting," Mr. Nippert puts the following question to him:

"It would be interesting to know, respected professor, by what process of investigation you have discovered those impure motives. That you should

have frequently attended Methodist preaching, is not to be assumed; for it is, as you say, 'too exciting for the nerves,' and 'suits,' properly speaking, only 'the lower classes' and 'the sanguine temperament of the negroes;' such preaching would have been too repugnant to your nerves, to your heart, and head. That you should have visited our class-meetings, which you consider the counterpart of the Roman Catholic confessional, I can still less believe. How could you, as a doctor of Protestant theology, sanction by your presence such a Romanizing institution? Nor is there any probability that you attended their annual conferences, and made there your discoveries 'by your own inspection.' That you made yourself more familiar with Methodism through its literature, is not to be imagined, for if you had, how could you have committed such glaring blunders respecting their doctrines, principles, usages, and institutions?"

It would give credit and honor to our self-taught German missionaries, to quote the points which Mr. Nippert makes against Dr. Schaff, to show how he convinces the learned professor, in the most polite and respectful manner, of his glaring blunders, tracing them, with logical acumen and refined irony, back to the blinding influence of his "*evil animus*." No wonder that Professor Schaff did not feel disposed to make a reply; it was an unanswerable defense of German Methodism. As Professor Nadal has, however, already in the Quarterly given a better review of Dr. Schaff's book than a German could have written for the English Methodist public, it would not be proper to lengthen this article by further extracts from Mr. Nippert's letter to Professor Schaff.

In conclusion, I can assure the reader that I have not made this exposé from any vindictive feelings against Dr. Schaff. I did not suffer the treatment I had received from him to rankle in my breast, but was willing to erase it even from my memory, and spoke since on several occasions with great respect of his learning, as, indeed, I had always done. But as his abuse of German Methodism is again and again triumphantly quoted by our enemies, I feared I should not be true to the cause of truth and righteousness, and to the interests of the Methodist Episcopal Church, to which I owe a debt of everlasting gratitude, as well as "*the lower classes and the heathens*," if I did not prove Dr. Schaff, as long as he does not *himself acknowledge the wrong* he has done us, unworthy of the apology which a kind and unsuspecting friend makes for him in a Methodist periodical of the first order.

CINCINNATI, March, 1857.

WILLIAM NAST.

ART. VIII.—AMERICAN SLAVERY—ITS PROGRESS AND PROSPECTS.

WE have shown, in a former article, the retrogression which the public mind of the country—of the South at least—has undergone respecting slavery—that the anti-slavery sentiments of the great founders of the Republic, Washington, Jefferson, Henry, Madison, etc., have been abandoned; that its original policy against the *extension* of the evil has been not only abandoned, but reversed; that the institution has come to be recognized as a condition of the balance of power and of parties in the federal government; that the sentiments of “the fathers” respecting the dignity and advantage of “free labor,” “free society,” and liberty in general, have been impugned; that the reopening of the African slave trade has been advocated even by the highest state authorities—and that this degeneration has been crowned by a general demoralization of the popular mind on political subjects, by violence, border ruffianism, the substitution of the bludgeon for argument, and the loss, to a grievous extent, of the old loyalty of the country to the cause of general freedom.

What has occasioned this extraordinary revolution of opinion?

It should be distinctly noticed that its primary causes were not *moral*. No new light led to new sentiments on the subject; *material* interests alone, comparatively sordid ones therefore, produced the change; moral justifications of the institution were attempted only when its financial promises were ascertained.

1. New-England ingenuity gave the first impulse to the lamentable change. The son of a Massachusetts farmer, Eli Whitney, residing in Georgia toward the end of the last century, perceived that if machinery could be contrived for the separation of the green seed cotton from its seed, it could be made an article of vast commerce, and that otherwise it was vain to think of raising it for the market. Many gentlemen of Georgia entertained the same conviction, and encouraged him to study the necessary invention. Hitherto the “cleaning” of the product had been entirely manual, and involved infinite difficulty, especially in the hands of slaves. The genius of Whitney gave birth to the *Cotton Gin*, an instrument which has given impetus to the commerce of the world, and more, perhaps, than any other cause, riveted slavery upon the negro race. Near the close of the winter 1792–1793, the invention became known as an undoubted fact; it was ascertained that by a simple contrivance, the tedious process of separating the seed from the fiber by hand was

superseded forever; that in one day, one hand could do more of this work than had been done, by the old process, in many months; that, as the inventor said, in his memorial to Congress, "it would, as a labor-saving machine, enable one man to perform the work of a thousand men." The people becoming aware of the invention, perceived at a glance its value; they flocked from all quarters to see it; they were too impatient to wait till the inventor could secure a patent right; his building was broken open, the model carried away, and imitations put into operation. It raised, as he subsequently declared, the value of the Southern states from fifty to one hundred per cent. "If we should assert," said a Southern citizen, Judge Johnson, "that the benefits of this invention exceed \$100,000,000, we can prove the assertion by correct calculations." Such calculations would swell the estimate, in our day, to indefinite millions. Whitney has taken rank with Arkwright, Watt, and Fulton, as one of the greatest promoters of the material improvement of the race. His ingenious hand opened the whole cotton culture of the South; created virtually the cotton manufactures and cotton commerce of Great Britain; originated our own cotton factories, and sent forth our ships to compete, in the ends of the earth, with those of England, in the sale of the fabric. The inventions of Hargreaves and Arkwright have all undergone improvements from the new impulse; bleaching, calico printing, and all the secondary arts of the manufacturer have been revolutionized under it. The Power Loom, superseding the old tedious method of weaving, was introduced in 1816, enabling us to compete with English cheap labor. Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow, and Paisley, not to speak of our own Lowell, Pawtucket, Manchester, etc., have been built up by Whitney's invention. The whole amount of cotton imported into England from all parts of the world was, about ten years before this invention, only 5,000,000 pounds; in 1829 it amounted to 210,000,000; she now imports from us raw cotton alone to the amount of more than one hundred millions of money, and exports, in cotton fabrics, more than one hundred and twenty-five millions. Millions of her people, three millions at least, depend upon her American business. Our cotton crop for 1852 was valued at no less than \$129,000,000. Our exports of raw cotton for 1854 amounted to nearly \$110,000,000, and of manufactured cotton to more than \$9,500,000; all this besides the vast domestic consumption of the article.

Thus did Yankee genius evoke the industry and enterprise of the South, and bind them in financial relations with nearly the whole commercial world; but the deed so beneficial to mankind in general, has become the especial curse of the negro. By making American

cotton a staple in all the world, it has made his sinews staples in the market of the South; and has turned back the tendencies to his emancipation which, as we have shown in our preceding article, were ripe at our Revolutionary epoch. Mammon has become the insatiable Moloch to whose altars his fettered race are driven for sacrifice, and with the smoke of the sacrifice mixes, as incense, the old, generous, and Christian sentiments, with which the fathers of the Republic deplored his wrongs and hoped for their extinction.

2. Only about ten years (1803) after this invention, the purchase of *Louisiana from France* opened an almost indefinite field for the extension of the slave interest. This fact may be considered the *second* great event in its history.

As we have seen in our former article, it was expected, immediately after the Revolution, that all the territories west of the old thirteen states, and pertaining to them respectively, would be ceded by them to the federal government and be consecrated to freedom—that the first “ordinance,” framed by Mr. Jefferson, proposed to form them into seventeen states, eight south of the parallel of Louisville, and nine north of it, and that “after the year 1800 of the Christian era, there should be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said states;”^{*} that a majority of two thirds of the states, and fifteen delegates against six, voted for the proposition; that with this majority, it failed only because the specific vote required by the “Articles of Confederation” failed.

It was, then, the will of a large majority of our original statesmen, that slavery should not be extended beyond the original slave states of the confederacy; that it should be left to die out there. The acquisition, however, of Louisiana, already possessing slaves, opened a new field for the cupidity of the institution. That splendid domain was obtained for a trifle, (fifteen millions;) it possessed the great commercial dépôt of the Mississippi Valley—New-Orleans; it commanded the great Western rivers; its territorial range was immense, comprising, by the Anglo-French treaty of 1763, the region west of the Mississippi River, with an indefinite extension westward. A large portion of it was obviously adapted to slave labor, and the newly-awakened ambition of pro-slavery demagogues and capitalists contemplated the prize with eagerness. The policy proposed by the founders of the republic, and the only one compatible with its liberal pretensions, was abandoned; three states were formed in the new territory—Louisiana, Arkansas, and Missouri; with the

^{*} Jefferson's Ordinance.

latter the new pro-slavery policy proclaimed itself without reserve, and was definitively settled, rather than restricted, by the "Missouri Compromise."

The western territories of the southern portion of the thirteen states—territories designed, as we have seen, to be included in Mr. Jefferson's Ordinance, but which were afterward not ceded to the federal government, as were those of the free states—now became the intermediate ground, the *entrepot* of slavery between the Atlantic states and the trans-Mississippi west. Much of the interjacent regions, as Western Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Northern Alabama, had but few attractions for slave capital; they might have been free, long since, had it not been for the disastrous influence of the Louisiana acquisition;* they might even have become free since, had it not been for the unfortunate change of the public sentiment of the South, which resulted from that influence. But now, not only did capital see advantages in the propagation of slavery, but political demagogism saw the possibility of a successful competition between southern and northern politics—a competition which could not otherwise be successful; the heinous fact, referred to in our last article—the recognition of slavery as a condition of the balance of power and parties in the federal government—ensued, and the world has since witnessed the anomalous spectacle of the greatest republican government on earth converted into the greatest system of slave policy and slave propagandism known in history. The old slave regions found at least a market for slaves in the new southwest—slavery might have died out from self-decay in Virginia, had it not been for this fact. Louisiana proper presented especial inducements for the wretched traffic. Nine years after the purchase, she was admitted into the Union as a state with nearly fifty thousand square miles, and eight years later she had nearly *seventy thousand slaves*, and to-day she has more than two hundred and sixty-three thousand. Her soil was found peculiarly favorable to the slave staples. It is a rich alluvial from Lake Borgne to the Sabine, and from the Mexican Gulf to Baton Rouge and the Red River. Her prairie lands and rice swamps constitute a fifth of her territory. Sugar and rice are her staples south of the line of 30°, and cotton and tobacco north of it, and, indeed, throughout the state.

Such, then, were the primary causes of the deplorable retrogression of public opinion respecting slavery, which we have traced in our preceding article. That change did not, we repeat, originate in

* That acquisition was one of the most important advantages in our history. We condemn only the abuses of it by the slave policy.

moral reasons—in any new convictions respecting the rights of man or the moral claims of the negro. Any such new opinions were its effects, not its causes. The latter were financial and demagogical, sordid throughout. For a considerable time after the original policy of the country against “slavery extension” was practically abandoned, liberal-minded men of the South still abstractly approved that policy; the generous, patriotic, and Christian-like sentiments of the fathers of the Republic were still dear there to most Christian men at least. But slavery, formerly believed to be destined to a rapid internal decay, and tolerated only as a practical problem, difficult but temporary, became now more than ever complicated with the business of half the land. The hope of its extinction became therefore more than ever deferred, and soon passed out of the public mind; politicians saw the expediency of ignoring that hope; Christian consciences began to yield to the love of gain, and found desirable some new apologies by which to appease their instinctive scruples. New theories of slavery were discussed; the sentiments of “the fathers,” the Declaration of Independence, God’s own word, gave way before the mighty and selfish fallacy. Thus did moral causes supervene, and only thus.

3. We admit then, as a third fact in this melancholy outline, that indirectly there have been *moral causes* for the change we have been considering, and this brings us to what has been alleged by many good men—such men as we wish especially to influence—as its chief cause, namely, the *anti-slavery agitations of the North*.

We are not arguing for a local or partisan advantage, but for the truth, and for the purpose of doing what little we can to place the subject in its right and practicable attitude before considerate men of all parties; we would be frank, therefore, in approaching this delicate part of our subject.

Without really conceding much, (as will presently be seen,) we do candidly acknowledge that there have been many evils connected with our northern discussions of slavery. Thoughtful men, too, who have taken part in these discussions, have not estimated rightly those evils. History records no more admonitory lesson than it addresses to such men, under such circumstances; but it seems to be the weakness—the generous weakness may we not call it?—of human nature to suppose that errors in a good cause are not only pardonable, but seldom very disastrous. The attentive student of history will, however, believe that error is more mischievous in a good cause than in a bad one—in the latter it precipitates evil to its crisis and to its remedy, in the former it not only retards the good, but often overthrows it for centuries.

Not resistance to Christianity, but the perversions of its zeal, and especially of its hardest, its ascetic virtues, buried it in its own ruins for more than twelve hundred years, and its greatest devotees became the imbeciles and lunatics of the world. The extravagances of the Roman people and of their representatives justified, if it did not necessitate, in the general opinion of history, the overthrow of the Republic by Cæsar. Luther found it necessary to save the Reformation by turning his arms against the errors of the Anabaptists. The English Commonwealth fell from a strength never before known to the British throne or British arms, by the reaction of the Puritan extravagances, and its noble mission was put back for generations. Nearly all the political revolutions of modern Europe, from the first French one down to 1848, have been ruined by the excesses of their leaders, and have left only indirect benefits to the world. The Christian-like moderation and statesman-like wisdom of Wilberforce and Buxton alone saved the movement of British emancipation.*

The true reformer can never ignore these most urgent lessons of history. While they have not been forgotten by many in the North, and are more and more heeded in the later Northern anti-slavery movements, it cannot be denied that a great part of our anti-slavery history has been characterized by a practical disregard of them. Acknowledging that the control of slavery is chiefly in the hands of Southern men, we have not conformed our policy to that fact, but have too habitually addressed them in language which could only provoke their hostility against our arguments and their persistence in the evil. Churches have been rent asunder, not merely on the border, but in the North, not through any wide differences of opinion, but by the reckless manner in which we have discussed those differences. Men of genuine talents for discussion and leadership have been thrown, by their inconsiderate zeal, out of the ranks of the movement, to lead only Bedouin detachments in attacks as much on the general Northern movement as on the South itself. One man alone, to whom history will justly award the honor of beginning that movement, and who, if he had maintained the Christian and prudent character of Wilberforce, would have been the Wilberforce of the New World, and, it might be, the second

* Buxton, notwithstanding his political and religious purity, was at one time denounced as an apostate by English abolitionists for his course in Parliament ; a public meeting was held, and resolutions passed and published in the newspapers against him ; Wilberforce, lingering still in extreme age, knew him, however, and stood by him, and by their joint perseverance the cause was saved.

character in American history—has cast away the noble honor, and, sustained by a handful of misled followers, spends his rare energies in editing a paper which is devoted more to the overthrow of the Bible, the Church, and civil order, than to the overthrow of slavery. The noblest men who plead for the slave in the legislature or the pulpit, are the most denounced by him and his associates. Infidelity in religion, schism in the Church, and radicalism in politics, have unquestionably marred to a large extent this most beneficent of our national philanthropies. Let us not deny the undeniable fact—let us reform it.

But the frankness which makes these acknowledgments, demands also that we turn to the other side of the picture. Disastrous as these errors have been among ourselves, their greatest disaster has fallen upon the helpless victim over whom we have been mutually contending. The bad influence of the territorial and financial motives for slavery, which we have noticed, has been re-enforced by these our own follies. The Southern conscience, seduced by the former, has excused itself by the latter. Disposed to find sophisms for its moral justification, it has pointed to our errors and cried out against our "interference;" it lays to our charge even the continuance of slavery in Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri. These states, it often alleges, would probably have been free ere this hour had not our "interference" put them back.

Two things we have to observe respecting this common remark. The first is, that it furnishes no justifiable apology for the new attitude of the South. The provocation may be admitted to be real, but it cannot be admitted to be sufficient. Its alleged effect, we know, is in accordance with the prejudices of our "poor human nature;" but there is something more than the prejudices of human nature in the world—something mightier—there are human rights and the sufferings of mighty human wrongs; there is the mighty word of God, the might of his Spirit, and the might of human conscience, and all these should have pleaded effectually with our Southern brethren, for God's own poor, who have been trodden down in this heedless *melée* of opinions and words. History will record it as natural to human weakness that such unfortunate results should follow such errors; but while it blames the weakness which produced the errors, it will blame and weep over the weakness which resented them in redoubled wrongs on the head of the helpless victim.

We remark further, that while we condemn the extravagances of this Northern "interference," and admit that it may really have retarded emancipation in the border states, we are not the less of

the opinion that it was *necessary*—not that its “extravagances” were—and that great ultimate good will come of it.

What anti-slavery sentiments lingered in the border states needed a *moral basis*. They were sustained almost exclusively by local and *economical* considerations. Virginia and Kentucky could not but perceive the contrast, in all economical respects, between themselves and the adjoining free states. It was inscribed as a striking geographical argument along the boundaries which separated them from free soil. Financial considerations, as we shall hereafter show, are doubtless to be the primary inducements to emancipation; but they must be backed by higher arguments in order to have effect on the *aggregate evil*. Before the agitations of the North, Virginia was on the very verge of emancipation. The eyes of the nation were turned with confident hope upon her convention of 1830. One vote alone decided the fate of the question. Since the crisis of the Revolution no one event, perhaps, bears a more solemn responsibility than that one vote. Had it been cast for the slave, it would not only have saved Virginia, but, probably, have averted all our subsequent national troubles on the subject. That noble and commanding state, which has so much influenced the history of the Republic, would have been in the ranks of the free states. Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and Tennessee, would possibly, before now, have followed her example. The preponderance of the free states in the federal government would have thus been established, and the whole later federal power of slavery been unknown. All our subsequent legislation and popular struggles, compromises and demoralization on the subject would have been prevented. It was a sublime hour, not only for Virginia, not only for the nation, but for the world. It was lost; and the hand that cast the determining vote struck a blow, under which the nation has since reeled, and which, may God forbid, should yet be found to have struck out the keystone from the arch of the Republic!

But look through the debates of that convention; how seldom do you find in them an allusion to the *ethical* grounds of the question? The depreciation of lands, the dangers of insurrection—dollars and cents and local protection—were the arguments; the old national doctrines of liberty, the claims of humanity and Christianity, were rarely heard—God and his oppressed were comparatively forgotten, and he confounded the counsels of the people.

These arguments were good as far as they went—we shall use them ourselves presently—but they went not far enough. Pledged from a moral stand-point, we can hardly doubt of their success at that critical moment; the Christian conscience of Virginia would have

made them overwhelming; and the same remark is applicable to the other border states.

What, now, would have been the results if these merely *economical* arguments had been successful?—very great, as we have admitted, to the border states and to our federal politics; but *would they have reached the foundation of the great crime?* They might have descended southward as far as Tennessee, and, perhaps, North Carolina; but when would they become applicable to South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas? Under their influence the slaves of the border states would have been sold to these more Southern sections; the indefinite expansion of the nation southward would have opened an indefinite range for the evil, throughout which the “mighty dollar” syllogism would have been indefinitely or forever irrelevant, except on the wrong side; and the national politics being relieved, and kept relieved, from the embarrassments of the question, by the faster expansion of the North, the mighty wrong might have been upon us indefinitely.

A better platform, therefore, was necessary for the reform. If any power could at all reach the center of the evil, it must be a *moral* one. Its ethical basis must be reached, and the religion, the conscience, the old liberal sentiments of the country could alone effectually touch it. Moral agencies overthrew it throughout the British empire and throughout most of the civilized world; they can do so here. *The Northern discussions, with all their lamentable aberrations, have placed the question on this moral basis.* Those aberrations, however calamitous, are but incidents of the controversy, and will pass away; they are now fast subsiding; the demoralization of opinion, which has been provoked by them in much of the South, can also be but temporary; our common Christianity renders that certain. Passing clouds may obscure the ascending sun, but they cannot put it out; a casual breeze can carry them away, but he rides resistlessly to the zenith. The economical arguments for emancipation remain undiminished, they grow stronger every day; when, as in the case of Missouri, they again have local effect, (as they inevitably must if the border states would not only not be dying, but not be dead,) they will now be backed by the mightier moral force of the question. And what are all the temporary disadvantages of Northern “interference” compared with this advantage? The construction of a railroad on your high-way may make it impassable for a season, and put back all the business of your farms and villages, but when it is completed, you can convey over it, in three months, more than you did before in as many years.

Good men, therefore, North and South, while they lament the

is settled mostly by free laborers,* and a right direction of public opinion there can hardly fail to be as successful as in Missouri. The Quitman Free Press, Wood County, asserts that the interests of Texas would be greatly promoted by substituting free for slave labor, and the citizens of the county have elected its editor to represent them in the State Convention. The Galveston News, in animadverting upon the fact, candidly concedes that, "if the people of that section of the state, or any large number of them, desire to rid themselves of the institution of negro slavery, we suppose they have a perfect right to do so in a legitimate and constitutional manner." Indications like these take an importance, under such circumstances, which belongs not to the usual utterances of the public press; they imply much more than they express.

Third. This movement of the slave states, and change of the national policy, will restore the right of free speech throughout the South itself. That right does not now exist in many of the states—it is morally interdicted. Good men, there, by tens of thousands dare not speak out their deepest convictions on the question. The fact is undeniable, and it is one of the saddest curses of the institution—one that will most powerfully react and be most decidedly resented at the coming opportunity.

Fourth. The controversy being transferred to the slave states, where it legitimately belongs, it will take a healthier as well as a more hopeful tone, throughout the country. The extravagances of the North will pass away, the resentments of the South subside, and the energy of the public mind, now so largely wasted in the polemics of the question, will be absorbed in its more practical treatment.

Thus far can we advance without much theorizing; and this rapid review places the subject before us in altogether hopeful lights. There is, then, hope for us yet, though the evil hangs like a firmament of darkness over half the Republic. No man, who has faith in God, should despair amid such possibilities.

Such, we think, is the true *rationale* of the treatment of this lamentable evil. But let us look more directly at its hopefulness and requisites.

Material reasons, as we have said, must be the primary motives of the abolition of slavery. We pause not here to lament the fact. We are not even inclined to dispute whether it may not be a providential fact, and of moral advantage, rightly considered. It is sufficient to know that it is a fact, and an indisputable corollary follows, namely, that the material interests of a number of the

* The same may be said of Western Arkansas.

states, sufficient to decide the fate of the question, being overwhelmingly in favor of emancipation, it will ultimately be decided aright. And here we step upon an impregnable ground of argument and of hope. The Missouri movement appears to have sprung up almost exclusively on this ground, and how demonstrative is its logic here! Look at the motives of Missouri for emancipation. Open the map of the country, and see how she lies the central domain of the states: her territory thirty-eight millions of acres; lined along her whole eastern boundary by the Mississippi, traversed centrally by the Missouri more than four hundred miles, and by the Osage, the Gasconade, and the Grand Rivers—her lead mines, sufficient to supply the world; her coal; her iron mines, crowned with a mountain of the metal; her vast prairies; her climate adapted to white laborers. And why should this magnificent state be fettered with slavery, an evil so foreign to all her local conditions? Why should her people be content to see the march of emigrating armies of free laborers passing her by for Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and Kansas; her people, we say, who, against seventy thousand slaveholding landowners, present seven hundred and seventy thousand non-slaveholders. Nothing but a public dementia could decide the popular mind in favor of slavery, if once the question were rightly presented. It is, at last, rightly presented, and no man can doubt its ultimate result, whatever may be its temporary embarrassments. A member of her late Legislature (Mr. B. Gratz Brown, of St. Louis) proved, by a comparison of the increase of internal improvements and population in the slave and free states, that the abolition of her slavery would at once enhance the value of her lands more than the actual value of her slave property. Slavery has been undergoing a most hopeful comparative decline within the state. The ratio of slaves to freemen by her census of 1851, was as 87,623 to 574,118, or as one to six and three quarters. According to the census of 1856, while the slaves have increased 12,492, the free population has increased 205,703. The increase of slaves to that of free persons has therefore been but as one to sixteen. And then of the increase of 12,492 slaves, no less than 10,230 has taken place in twelve counties, which contain nearly half the entire slave population, though less than a sixth part of the free population of the state. In these twelve counties only, out of the hundred and seven which compose the state, can slavery be considered as having a firm foothold. In twenty-five counties there has been an actual decrease of slaves since 1851, to the extent of more than a fifth of the whole number. In 1851, those twenty-five counties, containing 222,693 freemen, had 21,526 slaves. In 1856,

they had but 17,084 slaves, a decrease of 4,442; while, at the same time, their white population had risen to 293,490, an increase of 75,797—the ratio of slaves to freemen having decreased in these five years from one in ten to one in thirteen. Missouri, then, not only ought to be, but *will* be free.

From Missouri direct your eye across the map to Virginia, lying in the east, the counterpart of Missouri in the center—within almost precisely the same northern and southern boundaries, and of very nearly the same territorial area. She commands the advantages of the Atlantic on the east, and of the valley of the Mississippi, by the Ohio, on the west. No state of the Union has a more varied territory; she is fitted for agriculture, for grazing, for manufactures; her mineral resources and “water power” should have made her, long ago, the wealthiest manufacturing state of the New World. Her access to the West, and her central position between the Northern and Southern states, with one of the best harbors of the land at Norfolk, should have given her precedence over New-York, and made her the commercial center of the continent. These are not hypothetical opinions; they are written out on her very geography. But where does this magnificent state stand to-day with all her rare historical honors? How does Norfolk compare with New-York? A late assessment of the state reports a total value of real estate in her cities and country of about \$376,000,000; this equals not one half the valuation of New-York city alone—an area of thirteen by three miles! Her increase since 1850 has been only about thirty-six per cent., showing an actual declension; for the change of prices in all things, produced by the increase of gold within that time, has been much more than thirty-six per cent.* She has a public debt of nearly \$30,000,000—her magnificent system of internal improvements, still uncompleted and failing, her six per cent. stocks selling in the markets at ninety-two per cent., her taxation already so severe that there is great unwillingness to increase the debt; and some of her citizens consider repudiation inevitable. Her banks are unable to supply the demands of business men. The whole banking capital of the state in 1850 was less than \$10,000,000, while that of New-York city exceeds \$60,000,000.

What is done with the mineral treasures of the state? What are her slave lands east of the Blue Ridge becoming? While emigration has been evoking into life new states almost year by year in the free West, what has it been doing with the magnificent domain

* The increase in Ohio is stated at more than one thousand per cent., for the last twenty years—its valuation having risen from \$80,000,000 to over \$800,000,000.

of Virginia West of the Blue Ridge? Does history record a more astounding example of self-abnegation for a traditional institution than this sacrifice by Virginia, of national pre-eminence in opulence and power, for the sake of slavery—and slavery, too, which can hardly be said to extend over half the state, and which has long ago exhausted itself? Can there be a citizen in whom the old Virginia honor and chivalry still linger, who does not contemplate the curse which has come upon his noble state from this one cause, with indignation, and who does not feel that every sentiment of state pride as well as of state interest, should rouse him to speak out in the manful terms of Jefferson, Henry, Madison, and Washington, against “the abomination that maketh desolate?” Can the party fetters, put upon him by demagogues, restrain his own brave hand from striking down this infamous evil—infamous peculiarly in the only remaining interest which his own state has in it? Should his resentments against Northern “interference” require his self-respect to submit longer to the intolerable curse?*

Similar remarks would apply to Kentucky and Tennessee. They apply, indeed, everywhere, for the superiority of free over slave labor is, *a priori*, essential in ethics; essential to the vindication of our common humanity; and facts universally refute him that would gainsay or evade it.

According to the census of 1850, the land in cultivation in the free states was 108,082,774 acres, and its cash value was \$2,143,344,437, or \$19 83 per acre. In the slave states at the same date, 180,572,292 acres were in cultivation, and the cash value \$1,117,649,649, or \$6 18 per acre. Free muscles, then, make land among us two thirds more valuable than fettered hands make it; and God has so ordained it, as an argument for human freedom. Such is the extent and value of the land; but what does the produce show? A Southern authority (De Bow) tells us. He shows that the annual agricultural produce of the free states is \$827,054,955, and of the slave states \$634,570,057. The slave states have in cultivation 70,000,000 acres more than the free, yet the productions of the latter exceed the former by more than \$190,000,000. Skill and industry thus triumphantly vindicate liberty.

* Eli Thayer's scheme for colonizing Western Virginia from the North is a hopeful project. It is approved by the Norfolk Herald and some other Virginia papers, though disapproved by more. The whole of its stock was subscribed in two hours after the books were opened in New-York, a large portion of it by Virginians. Rev. Mr. Sarivaux has purchased 3,000 acres of Virginia lands for a colony of five hundred Waldensians from the High Alps—the current of settlement may yet set into Virginia.

Look at another fact: in 1850, the agriculture of the free states employed 2,509,126 persons, and their productions were valued at \$827,000,000, that is, \$330 per man. In the slave states, 1,197,649 whites and 2,500,000 slaves were employed in agriculture; their products were valued at \$634,000,000, that is, only \$173 each. Free labor, then, gains twice as much as slave labor! and in spite of the superior advantage of the South in her great staples of cotton, sugar, rice, tobacco, etc. Every comparison of Northern and Southern statistics brings out the same demonstration. Thus the "border slave" states (including Missouri) are valued at an average of \$9 per acre—the average of the other slave states is but \$3 50 per acre—a diminution of more than one half. The free states on the border, including Illinois, average \$22 per acre, more than double that of the slave border states. Take two states of nearly equal age, and neither of them claiming first-rate importance: "Arkansas was admitted into the Union in 1836, Michigan 1837. Arkansas contains 52,198 square miles, and 209,807 inhabitants, of whom 151,746 are free, and 58,161 are slaves. Michigan contains 56,243 square miles, and was entered for settlement later than her sister, but contains 397,654 persons, all free. In Arkansas the land is valued at \$5 88 the acre; and in Michigan at \$11 83. The slave state has 781,531 acres of improved land; and Michigan 1,929,110. The farms of Arkansas are worth \$15,265,245; and those of Michigan, \$51,872,446. Thus slavery and freedom affect the *value of land* in the new states. Michigan had (in 1855) 699 miles of railroad, which had cost \$19,000,000. Arkansas had paid nothing for railroads. The total valuation of Arkansas, in 1850, was \$39,871,025; the value of the slaves, \$23,264,400, was included. Deducting that, there remains but \$16,576,625, as the entire worth of Arkansas; while Michigan has property to the amount of \$59,787,255. Thus slavery and freedom affect the *value of property* in the new states. In 1850, Arkansas had 115,023 children under twenty, whereof 11,050 were in schools, academies, or colleges; while Michigan had 211,969, of whom 112,382 were at school, academy, or college. Or, to omit the colored population, Arkansas has 97,402 white persons under twenty, and only 11,050 attending school; while of 210,831 whites of that age in Michigan, 112,175 were at school or college. Last year Michigan had 132,234 scholars in her public common schools. In 1850, Arkansas contained 64,787 whites over twenty, but 16,935 of these were unable to read and write; while out of 184,240 of that age in Michigan, only 8,281 were thus ignorant—of these, 3,009 were foreigners; while of the 16,935 illiterate persons of Arkansas, only 37 were born out of that state. The slave state

had only 47,852 persons over twenty who could read a word; while the free state had 175,959. Michigan had 107,943 volumes in 'libraries other than private,' and Arkansas 420 volumes. Thus slavery and freedom affect the *education of the people* in the new states." Thus does the mighty dollar argument abet every moral one for freedom, and with the Anglo-Saxon mind the double logic must prevail the world over.*

If, then, the movement of Missouri and Kansas goes on—if, as its result, the prestige of the federal government is withdrawn from slavery, and turned morally, at least, against it—if liberal-minded men in the South, thus encouraged and sustained, resume the right of free speech, and if these mighty economical motives are allowed to make their fair appeal to the industrial spirit of the land, who shall fear the result?

There is another economical view of the subject. We have shown how a single invention has developed the cotton culture of the South and riveted the fetters of the slave. Slavery is based on this great interest; nothing could, perhaps, more thoroughly overthrow it and give effect to the above motives than a revolution in this vast business. Sagacious business men have deemed such a change possible. It is too contingent for us to wish here to hypothesize about it; but we may point to the fact that European capitalists are generally discussing it. As we write these pages the news comes to us in the public prints, from England, that a convention of cotton dealers and manufacturers has just been held at Manchester, for the promotion of cotton cultivation, wherever it is possible, throughout the world, and effective measures for its encouragement have been adopted. Sentiments against slavery, as well as the perils which beset their dependence upon this country, have prompted the movement, and it will not be considered by our capitalists an unimportant fact. One of the leading English *Quarterlies* says:

"We have taken up our pen, on the present occasion, to call attention to the slow but sure working of a cause which few seem to notice; but which will, ere long, cut the Gordian knot which so many hands are trying in vain to untie. The great 'difficulty' in and with America is the system of slavery. The great support of slavery is not any set of particular political opinions, not the predominance of any one party in the state, not even the ascendancy of the South over the North in the great council of the nation, but the cotton crop. Slave-grown cotton supplies free England, and, through her, all Europe, with cotton goods. They are grown in America, made up in Lancashire, and thence diffused over the world. India and China clothe their swarthy sons and daughters with the slave production of Carolina and Georgia; and, so long as this monopoly lasts, so long slavery in America is safe. But there is a network of

* Statistics show that Boston alone could purchase two states like South Carolina, and have a surplus of thirteen millions.

railways covering British India which will, in a few years, bring down Indian cotton more in quantity, and even finer in quality, than that which America can supply, and at a considerably cheaper rate. Tunis is commencing, under the most favorable auspices, the same kind of agriculture. The French government is encouraging its growth in Algeria. Liberia is becoming, also, a competitor in the market; and it seems morally certain that, in a quarter of a century, we shall be as independent of the United States for cotton as we are now for sugar. Such a circumstance as this can have but one termination: the estates in Virginia and the other earlier planted states are already becoming poor and exhausted; slavery has brought poverty with it; and when there is no longer the same demand for cotton, and when, after a comparatively short time, the demand almost ceases, then slavery can no longer be upheld. The estates in the Southern states will pass through the same cycle as our own West India Islands have done, and will, perhaps, go almost wholly out of cultivation. That much calamity will attend such a cycle, we cannot for a moment doubt; but the result will be a far greater degree of prosperity. They will pass from slave states to free states; the rivalry between North and South will come to an end, and America will be fully at liberty to pursue her glorious destiny, and be the civilizer, and, ultimately, the ruler of the Western hemisphere. It is a singular, but a most encouraging proof, that this theory is not a mere theory, that our West India islands are now beginning to recover from their long ruin. Estates in Jamaica which, but five years ago, were offered for £3,000, are now sought for at £7,000; and we have no hesitation in predicting that, before ten years are passed away, those magnificent islands will be rejoicing in a *free* prosperity, far greater than that which they enjoyed during the most palmy days of their slave cultivation."

Should any or all these weighty considerations have effect on the evil among us, we may congratulate ourselves—the North as well as the South—that our national fiscal resources will admit, as the national sentiment will doubtless approve, of a proper financial reimbursement of the states, which may suffer by the generous sacrifice. Christian citizens, at least, cannot fail to consider it a providential fact, that while this stupendous evil looms over not only its own territorial half of the country, but over the whole country—it has pleased God so to prosper the nation, that it is able to provide for the pecuniary difficulties which may attend so vast a measure. The only great government in the civilized world that is virtually out of debt, we have also resources almost boundless for any such exigency. With public lands yet unsold, equal in extent to the *thirty-one existing states*, we could suffer no embarrassment by liberal provisions for such border states as might choose soon to relieve themselves and the nation of the embarrassments of slavery; and should all of them, by some prudent and prospective policy, adopt the same patriotic course, we could meet its financial necessities. Such a movement would well deserve to be considered a common and national interest. The national perils to which slavery would expose us in the event of a foreign war, render it such. The North has a common, if not an equal responsibility with the South for the existence of slavery; our fathers maintained its

traffic; our manufactures and commerce have largely drawn their wealth from it; our legislators have sustained and spread it by the general government. The domestic peace and security of the country are periled by it. The slave himself has claims upon our national humanity, which cannot be ignored. But we need no argument here—doubtless, the whole country would welcome almost any financial sacrifice that should relieve us forever from this greatest detraction from our honor and safety.

Including children, and the aged and sick, \$250 has been estimated as an average valuation per head for all our slaves—at three and a half millions, the aggregate valuation would be \$875,000,000; not nine times as much as England gave to her Jamaica planters for their slaves—England with a national debt of four hundred millions upon her. Our national domain (exclusive of the Mexican lands acquired in 1853) amounts to 1,600,000,000 acres; at an average of 75 cents per acre, they would afford \$1,200,000,000. The public lands alone would therefore provide for the liberation of our slaves, and leave \$325,000,000 to the nation to be expended in providing for them or otherwise used. At \$300 per head, they would cost but \$1,050,000,000. Double even the average per head, and the task becomes not formidable. Without this magnificent financial resource of the public lands, the nation, with its vast industry and commerce, should not stagger before a similar proposition—with what interest, then, should it be considered under our actual circumstances? We know that many of the difficulties of the question lie back of any such scheme, but we have already considered them there; and have seen that they are not only not impracticable, but are actually giving way, locally at least, before irreversible causes. The public sentiment should, therefore, hold out, to these local movements at least, the encouragement we have proposed.*

° Elihu Burritt has advocated this scheme extensively through the country, and we notice that a convention is to be held next month to consider it. Mr. Burritt argues that:

“Of all the parties to this great moral struggle, the well-being of the slaves will be most dependent upon the prevalence of a spirit of brotherhood and benevolence throughout the nation at the time of their manumission. Nothing but slavery itself, of the most atrocious stamp, could be worse for them than emancipation in a tempest of malignant passions, of fierce and fiery hate. Great as the system of slavery has grown, it may be equitably abolished without increasing the taxation of the country by a single farthing per head of its population. The public lands alone would be sufficient to pay for the emancipation of all the slaves in the Union, if appropriated exclusively to that object. A considerable portion of the public domain lies in the slave states, and consequently has but little demand or value. The abolition of slavery would create both, by the continually increasing influx of men and capital from the present free states and from Europe. The pecuniary results of emancipation in Missouri would be immediate and immeasurable. There would be such a rapid development of her mineral and agricultural resources, such a great and sudden

No extensive plan of emancipation can be expected to be successful without some such compensation; and we are happy to notice that the movement in Missouri assumes this fact. Its organ, the *St. Louis Democrat*, says:

"We have been frequently asked for our plan of emancipation. It is a question entitled to an answer. We say, without fear of contradiction, that the means of purchasing the slaves from their owners are within the limits of Missouri, and yet outside the domain of private property. There are in this state over thirteen millions of acres of the public land still vacant, still the property of the federal government. This does not include the swamp lands which were granted to the state, nor the railroad companies, amounting to more than five millions of acres. Considering the donations to the state of lands, and the railroad grants, as reserved property, there is yet land enough within our borders, of sufficient value to furnish a cash equivalent for all the slaves of every age and every tint or shade. Their aggregate value is not more than sixty millions. The lands of which we speak are worth that sum. We may remark, incidentally, that we have more than sixteen millions of acres yet unentered, and that they are not, on the whole, inferior in fertility to the lands of Kansas or Illinois. No more inviting field for immigration than Missouri presents itself upon this continent. Half the swamp lands, all the railroad lands, and thirteen millions of acres belonging to the general government are hoarding their wealth for the hand of free labor."

The financial difficulties of the question are not, then, insurmountable. But there are more formidable though incidental embarrassments, which cautious men fail not, and we think with too much distrust, to suggest against any such scheme; we think, however, that a gradual plan of emancipation with compensation, could be successfully attempted; *gradual*, we say, for the heartiest abolitionist be-

enhancement of the price of her lands, that Kentucky, Tennessee, Maryland, Delaware, and Virginia would be induced to follow her example, one after the other, in comparatively quick succession. Even in thus appropriating the public domain to the emancipation of the slaves, it would not be absolutely necessary to withhold judicious grants to railway companies; for it is assumed that the every alternate section reserved by the government, in making these donations, will produce as much as both sections without the railway. Thus, no honest and useful railway enterprise in the new states would necessarily be deprived of any legitimate aid by the plan proposed. The Federal Congress would not in the slightest degree transcend its legitimate prerogatives, nor infringe upon the sovereignty of any Southern state, by making this generous offer of compensation, whenever it might be disposed to emancipate its slaves. Such an offer would not impair its right to retain or abolish slavery at its own will. Should it prefer, on due consideration, to put an end to the system, it would perform in and by itself every act of legislation necessary to effect that object. It would distribute the money received from the national treasury among its slaveholders in its own way, and by its own officers. The free states can afford not only to be just, but generous to the South. Their commercial, religious, and political partnership with it in sustaining slavery has been most intimate and extensive. They have had the handling of all the great staples of the South. Cotton, rice, and tobacco have constituted their currency in trading with Europe. In this they have mostly paid for their importations of foreign goods, which they have again sold to the South; thus making large profits in their various transactions in slave-grown produce. They have doubtless realized more than half 'the wealth that sinews bought and sold have earned' in America. They would, with the same certainty, share equally in all the increased wealth and prosperity which emancipation would bring to the South."

lieves that the essence of slavery is in the *chattel* principle—property in man—and that this being once renounced, any municipal regulations restricting the emancipated to local and temporary conditions, would not be inadmissible, any more than are the restrictions now imposed upon white apprenticeship and similar relations. But what would become of the multitudes which, from time to time, would thus be sent adrift upon the country? This, we know, is a most serious question. Colonization might relieve it somewhat; but, though such statesmen as Webster and Clay have looked hopefully to that relief, we are not very sanguine of its efficacy. Mrs. Stowe advocates African colonization, and sends one of her best heroes to Liberia; that colony, in proving the capacity of the negro for self-government, is of inestimable importance; improvements of navigation may make it possible even for vast numbers to return to the land of their fathers; unaided immigrants, to the number of nearly half a million a year, have sometimes come across the ocean; and, aided by public philanthropy, why may not equal numbers return? Private capital is about to launch, in England, an iron steamer which can convey four thousand passengers, or, in case of necessity, ten thousand troops, in a single voyage to Australia, and carry sufficient coal for both the outward and homeward trips. But with all such reliefs many must be the embarrassments of the best regulated plan of emancipation. They are not, however, insurmountable; numerous as are our slaves, they would be comparatively absorbed if diffused through our white masses, and they could find support in the humbler occupations of life. Philanthropy, now so fervent for them, would do much for their relief; many free states have already modified their oppressive laws against their race, and would help them further; and if, after all that can be done, their own heedless or vicious habits should subject them to suffering or final extinction, that will be their fault, not ours; the country should not forego its own relief on account of their voluntary liabilities.

We repeat, then, there is hope, and more than hope, in view only of the material and economical facts of the question—facts that are already operative, and which no contingency can well defeat. We seem, at least, at the beginning of the end of this mighty problem. The God of our fathers has not deserted us, but is already opening the way of national salvation before us and our children. We may well then turn from these encouraging considerations, to the remaining question of our discussion, What should be the *moral* treatment of the subject under such favorable auspices?

1. One thing is clear, namely, that as the movement is now setting into the slave states themselves, where it properly belongs, we should

guard well the temper and style of our Northern discussions respecting it. Our severities have challenged the South into a posture of self-defense rather than self-relief; every dictate of prudence as well as justice demands now that we avoid such provocations, and every suffering of the slave appeals to us in behalf of the demand. The state of opinion in the North also requires it; the great mass of the North has stood aloof from the movement apparently, though not really, (as we fear,) from objections to what it has called Northern "fanaticism." Recent events have modified this opposition; most of the good but erring men who have been the "extreme" leaders of the agitation, have been thrown, by their own aberrations, out of its ranks—to discuss "women's rights," "passive resistance," "Churchism," and "ecclesiastical schism." The drift of the Northern mind, thus relieved, is becoming right, and mightily right; let it not be turned back by our excesses. Strong, but calm argument; respectful, though candid language; practical prudence rather than speculative abstractions; wise statesmanship, and, above all, the considerate and charitable temper of the Gospel are what we now need. With these, the recent events mentioned can hardly fail to make us successful.

Such remarks, we know, will, by their very truism, appear to some readers superfluous, if not worse; but we would emphasize them; for precisely here, we think, is the great want of the movement at this hour. Much of the Southern and most of the Northern mind can be mastered now by this Christian policy, and the new tendencies of the border states could be delayed for years, if not defeated, by our disregard of it. We are a Christian people; can we not inspire this movement with a Christian temper? and have not its greatest embarrassments come from a lack of that temper?

The ecclesiastical bodies among us especially need improvement in this respect. We have seen some such, in which the question has become entirely a party one, without a single radical difference of opinion; but sheerly from the style—mostly the mere verbal style—of the controversy. Whole days have we known to be thus wasted in bitter strifes excited by a phrase, but classing men, at other times thoughtful and devout, into hostile and permanent parties. When, alas! shall these things cease, and with them cease the sarcasms of scorners and the distrusts of wise men?

That great errors have occurred, in the history of the controversy, among ourselves, as a Church, no one, we suppose, now doubts. Schism, once at least, has rent many of our Northern Churches, and what good has come of it? With some thousands of members and several conferences, what has it been able to do for the slave or for

the common interests of Christianity? Has it added an iota to the moral importance of the anti-slavery movement? Has it not rather detracted from it? And what has become of its leaders—men of talent and energy, who, had they treated the subject in a different temper and style, without a single sacrifice of principle, might, by this day, have become the representative men of the Church on the question? The best of them sleep in their graves, and rest in peace, we doubt not, from their honest but mistaken strifes; others are fugitive lecturers on “Mesmerism,” “Spiritualism,” “Annihilationism,” etc.; and the remainder spend energies which deserve a better cause, in endeavoring to hold together the tottering fabric of the useless schism. We refer not to these things with uncharitableness, but for their sad lesson. We lay not all the fault to these erring brethren; their opponents shared it largely; both are responsible for its results, and the errors of both should warn all later leaders.

An improvement, then, in the temper and style of the controversy is what we would first urge in these concluding remarks. It is an obvious and an almost universal necessity. We must reform ourselves if we would not risk the great reform we are prosecuting. We acknowledge the difficulty of a moral change so dependent upon personal dispositions, and especially in a controversy which so much appeals to our keenest sensibilities; but whatever is required by our religion is practicable, and the example of comparatively few of the leaders and organs of the movement could soon give it a right tone in this respect.

2. We should cease to multiply the side issues of the controversy—issues which, by the varieties of opinion that they provoke, only divide and weaken our common force. How much strength has been expended, and how many influential minds been kept practically aloof from the movement, by the mere critical questions which have been mixed up with it? At one time party discussions have raged through all our Church organs on the meaning of “*doulos* ;” at another on the testimony of early *Church History* respecting slavery. Hundreds of studious minds, revolting from misconstructions of these subjects, have justified themselves in indifference to the more practical claims of the movement. It is not necessary that we should enter here into these critical questions; suffice it to say, that recognized Biblical critics and ecclesiastical historians have had but one opinion respecting them from the first Christian century down to the present age;* that intelligent writers,

* It is venturesome, we know, to assert what *is* said on any given subject, in a great class of writers, extending through many centuries, and still more venture-

even not of standard authority, have, without exception, been of uniform opinion upon them down to within the history of the present movement. It is not necessary that it should be proved that *doulos* does not mean slave in the New Testament, or that early Church history does not show a toleration of slaveholding—it is only necessary to show that the *analogy* between the circumstances of the early Church, amid the heathenism of the Roman Empire, and of the modern Church, amid the Christian civilization of the American Republic, does not justify an equal toleration of the institution. Christianity is, in all its essence, opposed to slavery—that is sufficient for our cause. What need have we of mere verbal criticisms in the presence of such an impregnable fact? Christianity put into operation principles which immediately neutralized the attendant vices of the system, and were sure ultimately to strike out its deepest foundations. When it cleared away the superincumbent heathenism that obstructed its access to those foundations, it did upturn them. What analogical argument, then, does it afford for the defense of slavery in this the most Christianized land on the earth? It may in given and limited cases, where political causes, and even organized ecclesiastical opposition, may embarrass the question, as on our own border, justify a similar, though not equal caution; but, as a general argument, it has no more relevance than the temporary community of goods at Jerusalem would have as an argument for modern Communism.

3. We, as Methodists, should especially endeavor to promote that tendency to homogeneous opinions on the question, which is now so promising among us. Causes which are not appropriate to our present discussion, but which have been, perhaps, as much from without as from within the Church, have latterly given a preponderance to its anti-slavery sentiment. Tens of thousands among us are, doubtless, still indifferent, or too "conservative" on the subject; but most of these have logically, if not practically, yielded the question; they can stand apart from the general movement now only because of incidental errors on the part of its more active friends. Let the latter guard, then, against such errors. All dis-

some to assert what *is not* said by them; but any critical student of Biblical Exegesis and Church History ascertains enough, from the standard he must study, to know how uniform is ancient opinion on this question, and to know, also, what must be the inevitable sequence in respect to such authorities as he does not consult. Our own Methodist standards all agree. See *Clarke and Watson* on the word *doulos*, *passim*. We need hardly remind the critical reader that the very latest discovered literary fragment of Christian antiquity corresponds with all the other early Christian writers, exegetical or historical, that touch at all upon the subject. See Bunsen's *Hippolytus*.

interested men among us, who seek alike the good of the slave and the peace of the Church, should insist that the main question affords a platform ample enough for all of us to stand upon with undivided co-operation. The debates of our last General Conference showed an advance of public opinion in the Church which proves that, with brotherly courtesy, and without the sacrifice of any essential principle, we can be generally, if not entirely harmonized on the question. The Pastoral Address of that body, prepared by delegates from the opposite extremities of our field, and signed by all our bishops, declares :

"The position of our Church from the beginning has been that of an anti-slavery Church; and in both slave and free states this is our present attitude. So we are regarded by pro-slavery men, as the persecution of our ministers in some parts of our work, and the apparent necessity of changing the seat of one of our conferences, in order to avoid the notified violence of a mob, clearly prove. The debates brought out fully the fact, that none of the members of this General Conference entertained pro-slavery sentiments, and that little or no mercenary slaveholding exists in the Church. And the effect of such action upon the interests of the border conferences, probably alone prevented a constitutional majority from voting to recommend a change of our General Rule on the subject of slavery. On this subject be temperate and firm; resisting evil, not with carnal weapons, but with immutable truths—'weapons that are mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds.'"

Under such circumstances, the Church may well hold responsible any party, clique, or man who shall, by any unnecessary cause, break the ranks of our forces.

4. Most especially should we guard with all care our "Border" territory, the very battle-field of the question, the only one in which we have direct access to the slave; and this can be done effectually, as we trust, without the compromise of any essential principle—that brotherly forbearance, in the style and temper of the movement, which we have recommended, can hardly fail to relieve our local embarrassments there sooner or later. Throughout all that region, local causes, economical, political, and religious, are fast undermining the evil, and recently, as in Missouri, these causes have been greatly re-enforced. According to the above Pastoral Address, "little or no mercenary slaveholding exists in our Church there." In their address to the Conference the whole bench of bishops, who traverse more or less the border conferences, declare that, "in our judgment, the existence of these conferences and Churches, under their present circumstances, does not tend to extend or perpetuate slavery." Our ministerial brethren of the border, without approving what they call our "agitation," led on the contest in the New-York General Conference against the South, and surrendered the unity of the Church rather than the cause of the slave. Their people have stood by the

Northern Church, though the agents of the Southern schism have invaded their territory with ceaseless assaults upon us. In their principal city, (Baltimore,) where, once, hundreds of slaveholders were in the Church, it is doubtful whether a score could now be found, and with these the relation is but nominal—affecting mostly family servants, who are treated, essentially, as free colored people. It was asserted in the last General Conference that “in all Western Virginia there could not be found fifty slaveholders in the Church.” In Kentucky and Missouri the Southern Church has taken from us most, if not all, who have any sympathy with slavery; if there are individual exceptions, still they are not more numerous than are similar exceptions to the moral code of the Church in all our Northern conferences. Such being the condition of this extended and important field, what considerate man among us can be doubtful of the course which Christian policy—not Christian forbearance merely, but Christian conscience—demands of us? In defending rightly this field, do we not in fact defend the whole Church and the whole anti-slavery cause among us? Its standard of anti-slavery sentiment, encouraging as it is, may not be up to ours, but where was ours a few years since? With our Discipline anti-slavery, with the Church and all its organs characterized as anti-slavery—more so practically than any other in the land, not excepting the Quakers, what motive can pro-slavery men have to enter our communion, especially throughout a region where the pro-slavery Southern Church confronts us at nearly every point? If, beset by political demagogism and the aggressions of the Southern Church, our people there choose not to risk the safety of their societies by fully seconding our own more thorough measures, still we put it to all thoughtful anti-slavery men, whether, under their peculiar circumstances, with what anti-slavery prestige they have, and with the anti-slavery prospects developing more or less along the whole border, especially in the West, would it be less than consummate folly for us to risk unnecessarily such a vantage-ground? We discuss not now the merit or demerit of any particular anti-slavery measure that may have respect to this border field and our organic law on slavery; that we would do willingly and explicitly were it not, by a previous editorial announcement, considered not within the sphere of this publication. We think that both parties are unnecessarily sensitive about such measures, but the above general suggestions we believe to be relevant to both.

Many good men among us, earnest for both the slave and the Church, judged it desirable, before the last General Conference, to break up our missions in the border fields, and to virtually withdraw from the sphere of slavery. Our missionary appropriations to those

suffering fields were impeached, and the society suffered under the reproach. Even at the General Conference the subject was mooted, and a resolution passed requiring an exhibit of the funds thus appropriated; the design of the resolution was counteracted only by the fact, shown in the exhibit, that the border conferences contributed much more to the missionary treasury than was appropriated from the latter on their frontier missions. Many brethren who were then disposed to break up our missionary plans for the border, have, we doubt not, since seen reason to change their opinion. They need but to ask themselves, what would have been the result of that policy in Missouri alone? Events have occurred in that state since the session, which promise it to freedom and the Northern Church before long; but had we deserted our struggling Churches there, what would have been our reflections at this moment?—what the reflections of our thoughtful people on our wisdom as ecclesiastical rulers? Some of our persecuted members within that state held, during the session, public meetings, and passed resolutions declaring it necessary, in their peculiar local circumstances, to save themselves by a separate organization should certain measures pass which were then pending in the Conference, measures which they knew would be abused against them by their reckless opponents; but they have been saved, and saved, we doubt not, to bear, some day or other, our evangelical standard through the length and breadth of their magnificent state. The prudence of the General Conference saved us from a disastrous mistake.

It is not, we trust, trenching on the prescribed limits of the subject in this periodical, for the writer to say, that as an anti-slavery Methodist, he should rejoice to see these missionary expenditures extended to every accessible point—from Louisville to Brownsville—that with or without further Church laws on slavery, he should fear no pro-slavery corruption of our cause from any effort to gather into its embrace, men whose views of slavery should induce them to seek shelter among us from the pro-slavery ultraism of Southern Methodism. He believes, indeed, that such a policy should be fundamental with anti-slavery Methodism, and that, unmistakable as our position is now on the question—with every organ turned against the evil, and our whole attitude toward it in contrast with that of the Church, South, none would join us but for such shelter. The Church has become a law unto itself on the subject, whatever may be the alleged defects of its written law. That written law is, however, itself remarkably explicit—it allows no sinful slaveholding; for not only its chapter on slavery, but its whole moral code applies, of course, to whatever slaveholding it does allow. It

"characterizes slavery as a great evil; it makes the slaveholder ineligible to any official station in the Church, where the laws of the state in which he lives will admit of emancipation, and permit the liberated slave to enjoy freedom; it disfranchises a traveling minister who by any means becomes the owner of a slave or slaves, unless he executes, if it be practicable, a legal emancipation of such slaves, conformably to the laws of the state wherein he lives; . . . it prohibits the buying and selling of men, women, and children with an intention to enslave them, and inquires what shall be done for the extirpation of the evil of slavery."* With such a Discipline, with "little or no mercenary slaveholding within the Church," with slavery giving way along the whole border region, with the new developments which are beginning to appear there—what man is there among us, that really cares for either the Church or the slave, who will not wish us to guard that vantage-ground with unwavering wisdom?

Such are some of the views which we think appropriate to the times, respecting the greatest of our national and Church questions.

ART. IX.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES.

I.—*Foreign Reviews.*

I. WESTMINSTER REVIEW, April, 1857.—1. Present State of Theology in Germany: 2. The Hindoo Drama: 3. Gunpowder, and its Effect on Civilization: 4. Glaciers and Glacier Theories: 5. Progress; its Law and Cause: 6. The Danubian Principalities: 7. Literature and Society: 8. China and the Chinese: Cotemporary Literature: 1. Theology and Philosophy: 2. Politics and Education: 3. Science: 4. Belles Lettres.

THE Westminster Review is the organ of the scholarly, decent, and, if need be, the pietistic Deism of the day. Purely on critical grounds, of course, it rejects the authenticity and inspiration of the collection of Hebraic fragments and tracts called the Old Testament. The Pauline Letters it would allow to be genuine; (Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ* has settled that point;) and the Gospels it recognizes as spontaneous productions of the age commonly assigned, giving impressions more or less true of a Jewish teacher and perhaps state reformer, worthy, in spite of certain miraculous claims, of attentive consideration and no ordinary respect.

The Westminster abounds in certain stereotype phrases and formulæ, which possess considerable impressiveness until repetition renders them stale.

* Address of the Bishops of the M. E. Church to the last General Conference.

Freedom and Progress are especially its banner words. And truly Freedom and Progress are pregnant and thrilling vocables. And yet they are *relative terms*. It is important to ask—Freedom from what?—Progress to what? Freedom from the laws of our best well-being, and Progress toward the ultimatum of ruin, are not, after all, matters so very pleasant. Freedom from the absolute despotism of truth; from the perfect rights of the Divine law; from the all-controlling power of religion, may suit a devil or a brute, but are no proper objects of human aspiration. And the Progress of these men may be illustrated by a simple fact: Hennell, in his skeptical Inquiry into the Origin of Christianity, after a train of much close reasoning and much special pleading, finds himself on the doctrine of man's immortality, pensively landed at last in the uncertainty of two thousand years ago! Sad progress that wheels us two thousand years backward!

With the Westminster, the cessation of Deistical publications is "the absence of free inquiry;" the repose of the Church in the Gospel faith is "stagnation;" the approximation of any man or section toward itself is "progress;" and so it has a whole vocabulary of reverse terms in which bad becomes good, and darkness is put for light.

Now we have our notion of *progress*, the realization of which would, we trust, conduce to the rapid advancement and the ultimate salvation of our race. It should be a "progress" in a true realization of the truths of the Bible; an ascending movement toward the standard of Christian holiness, as exhibited in the New Testament. And, perhaps, the mighty Christian intellects of the age might afford to let speculation "stagnate," while they construct and prosecute plans for the "*progress*" of Scripture holiness through this and every other land. And while Christendom is attaining a universal extent, we could hope she will manifest an intenser interior power. She will melt down the strongholds of sin, such as intemperance, demagogism, war, slavery, licentiousness, superstition, and Westminster Reviews, from within her midst. The world can spare them all, and be infinitely richer by the loss. And these German leviathans, the Hegels, the De Wettes, the Bretschneiders, and their successors, much as they have served in the end to rouse the activity of speculative Christian thought in counteraction, are very great nuisances. They are mischievous, because they are practically idle; and we should like to send a few Methodist presiding elders among them, (like Peter Cartwright,) to rout them from their nests, and set them to work. Labor and open air would make them realistic and healthy-minded; and with their mighty powers, progress might be rapidly made to the grand consummation, the universality of the kingdom of God. The human race might then pass them a unanimous vote of thanks for such a "*progress*." As it is, the devil may thank them.

In the first article are traced the reviewer's views of the phases of German Theology during the past part of the present century. After referring to the existing dislike in England toward German metaphysics and theology, the Reviewer attempts to assign to the great skeptical movement of the just past era its position in the march of history. Dividing the history of theology into the great Greek, Latin, and Reformation periods, this, the great speculative period, is entitled to be named the Fourth Great Epoch! Perhaps, less one-

sided thinkers will look upon it rather as a sad parenthesis in religious history; a melancholy syncope of Christian faith in the heart of a great Christian people.

The existing theology of Germany he divides into three phases: 1. The Historico-Critical. 2. The Mediation-Theology. 3. The Orthodox.

1. The Historico-Critical was the natural and necessary offspring of the Reformation. That great movement withdrew its reliance from an organism and founded its faith upon a book. To interpret that book, apart from all tradition and all authority, took precedence of every other precedence. To consent, therefore, to find, of course, in that book what common notion had placed there, was a contradiction of Protestant profession. Awakened, too, by the freedom of Deistical inquiry in England, nothing was easier for the theological thinkers of Germany than to disregard the remains of the then existing *half or quite dead* orthodoxy, and prance out into the unfenced pastures of limitless speculation.

Of the Historico-Critical the great chief is found at Tübingen:

"F. Ch. Baur—the initials are necessary to distinguish him from a critic of a very different stamp, Bruno Baur—is not only the chief of the Tübingen school, but is unquestionably the first of living theologians. His exterior, by which one is involuntarily reminded of Gibbon, heavy, sleepy, and somewhat coarse, gives indication of the intellectual power locked up within. This exhibits itself in his books and lectures, in the rare union of the opposite qualifications, namely, the most extensive reading, with the most elastic vigor of original speculation. He has Mosheim's colossal capacity for details, with Schleiermacher's inventive genius. A deficiency in either of these points would have equally destroyed his means of remolding the subject as he has done. With the exception of a few, and those certainly interesting, recent discoveries, all the facts of the early Christian history had been long in the hands of theologians, had been turned over and over, commented and illustrated on a thousand sides. On the other hand, the speculative and *a priori* method had fairly exhausted itself in the various Hegelian schools. 'Mere theory' had shown its impotence in Strauss's '*Leben Jesu*,' in which it professed to dissipate all fact and reality, to disperse history into air. Forsaking the illusory path of speculation, Baur undertook to submit all the remains, genuine and spurious, of early Christianity to a new examination, on the same rigidly critical method which had been applied to the remains of classical antiquity. A bare enumeration of his labors may convey some idea of their compass and drift. No description can do justice to the fund of learning and vigor of thought which they contain."

Baur's theory professed to trace the development of Christianity as a formation growing up in the antagonism of a Pauline and Petrine party. The Reviewer admires the genius and admits the general truth of Baur's development, but affirms that Baur overdid the matter. His antagonists have performed the useful work of trimming off the supererogations, and leaving the clear residuum of solid truth. Most successful in this reducing process are Dorner, Baumgarten, and especially Bleek:

"By purely critical arguments Bleek establishes the Apostle John in the authorship of the fourth Gospel. He has collected with great care all the internal marks of genuineness. He has subjected also the external testimonies to an independent examination. He lays due stress on Tatian's '*Diatessaron*,' on the early appearance of the Gospel in the school of Valentinus. How, he asks, could this Gospel, if it did not really emanate from John, but first made its appearance about the middle of the second century, so immediately obtain universal reception? How is it that it was adopted unquestioned by opposite parties, by the Judaic Churches as well as by the Valentinians, by those who

followed the Asiatic Easter as well as by the orthodox adherents of the Roman computation? To suppose such a universal recognition of a recent and spurious compilation, by all the conflicting parties in the very heat of their conflict, is nothing short of a miracle."

These reductions are also very much ratified by the Tübingen divines themselves. But the work of sifting has been well aided by independent critics like Hilgenfeld and Köstlin.

2. Next comes the *Mediation-Theology*. In point of learning this section is respectable; in point of numbers, the majority. It has little uniformity of faith. Indecision of belief is its characteristic. It seeks to attain the old grounds of the Reformation as far as its dilapidated faith will allow. Schleiermacher, while he lived, was the essential first mover from former infidelity in this direction. His was more, however, the impulse of the soul than the march of logical or critical demonstration. His feeble successor is Ullmann. Yet, in advance of Ullmann, in the march toward orthodoxy, are Dorner, Leibner, and Lange, whose productions are far more scientific. The science of Christ's nature, Christology, is the point which these critics have especially elaborated. In this respect and some others, the activity of the Mediation party redeems it from the worst charge which the reviewer imagines he could impute to it, namely, a quietude from theological speculation.

3. To the strong re-ascendency of *Orthodoxy*, the Reviewer denies any "religious or theological character whatever." The entire departure of all doctrinal faith and all religious feeling, had enabled the Prussian government (1821-1830) to organize the Lutheran and the Reformed bodies into one State Church. This formed, however, merely a turning point by which the great European reaction rolled in upon Prussia both in Church and State. Hence the new Orthodox phase is as insincere as it is transient:

"It is simply a political movement, taking an ecclesiastical coloring. Its animating principle is the principle of absolute authority. This principle or sentiment is just now undoubtedly gaining a hold on the European mind. Power rests less than ever on bayonets; it is becoming respectable. It is raising itself into a right. Might is not merely submitted to, it is recognized. Absolutism is emerging from a fact into an opinion. In the same proportion all reliance on the results of thought, all the elasticity of the individual will, is failing. The rights of conscience, and the necessity for freedom of expression, are less and less keenly felt. The independent and manly sentiments in human nature are, for the time, giving way to the equally natural impulses to timidity, to crouch, to fawn, to flatter. This doctrine of power, and the corresponding sentiments of submission, are the doctrine and sentiments which are really active and popular. Their alliance with 'Orthodoxy' is purely accidental."

Of the *Orthodox* party the only great theologian is Hengstenberg. "Hengstenberg first appeared as 'Privat-docent' in Theology in the University of Berlin in 1824. Just at that time, the party which is now grown into the great orthodox party was beginning to show itself in the form of a semi-pietistic party. It was favored, and indeed was in some measure created, by the late king. Hengstenberg attached himself to it. Royal favor, and the zealous backing of a thriving party, supplied the want of professional qualifications, and he was successively appointed extraordinary (1826) and ordinary (1827) Professor of Theology in the University, alongside of Schleiermacher and

Neander! In 1827 he founded the 'Evangelische Kirchen Zeitung.' Under his clever management, this journal rapidly became a power. With an instinctive knowledge of his field of operation, the court and society of Berlin, he brought into play every engine by which a newspaper can work upon the peculiar class of passions and jealousies which gather round our most sacred beliefs." Hengstenberg's periodical exerted for a while an overwhelming influence, but has now waned in power, and even his party is flung into the shade by young High Orthodoxy, sometimes called Hyper-Lutheranism. "This German 'Puseyism' is represented by such names as Kliefoth, Vilmar, Kahnis, Delitzsch, Petri, etc. This party not only repudiated all approximation to the 'Mediation-Theology' as heretical, but affect to look on Hengstenberg and his friends as already superannuated. They belonged to a period of transition."

There is now a growing Lutheran High Churchdom in Europe, and, *perhaps, it is not without its small but assuming counterpart in this country.* The court has not as yet taken decided stand with this party; but is evidently waiting its full development.

We have no belief in the Reviewer's assumptions, that the return of Germany to the faith of the Reformation is political or momentary. It arises from the same causation as does the firm rejection by the English and American Churches of the past Germanic defection. That cause is a clear faith in the foundations of Christianity, and a profound revolting at the melancholy spectacle of a Christian people sunk in the slough of a faithless apostasy from Christ and from God.

II. THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, April, 1857.—1. Sprague's Annals of the American Pulpit: 2. On the Neglect of Infant Baptism: 3. The Evangelical Church Diet of Germany: 4. Baird's Religion in America: 5. The Rev. Dr. James Murdock: 6. The Liturgical Movement: 7. Kant and Hickok: 8. New Edition of Horne's Introduction to the Scriptures: 9. Macleod Wylie's Bengal as a Field of Missions: 10. Loftus's Travels and Researches in Chaldaea and Susiani: 11. Hugh Miller's Testimony of the Rocks.

THE article on the Evangelical Church Diet of Germany, by Dr. Schaff, is very interesting.

The Kirchentag, or Church Diet of Germany, is a voluntary association of the ablest and most pious men of the four Protestant denominations, namely, Lutheran, German Reformed, United Evangelical, (a union of the former two,) and the Moravian Brotherhood.

This association was formed soon after the outbreak of 1848, when its first assemblage took place at Wittenberg, and solemnly assumed the platform of the doctrines of the Reformation, in the very church where Luther first nailed up his theses, and after singing Luther's noble war hymn, proceeded to lay the foundations of the new movement. From that time until the present, it has held the most impressive annual meetings, at which from fourteen hundred to two thousand persons have been present to attend exercises led by such men as Krummacher, Tholuck, Hoffmann, Ebrard, and others. Besides these, the debates are shared by Stahl, Nitzsch, and Kapff; while Ullmann, Rothe, and Bahr, though generally silent, are present. The effect of the discussions and labors of this pious and learned body, in the restoration of the

doctrines of the Reformation and the spirit and practical energetic benevolence of Christian piety, has been immense. Its next meeting is to be in Stutgard; the time is not fixed.

This **EVANGELICAL DIET** is to be carefully distinguished from the **EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE**, which is about to meet in Berlin, by invitation of the king, from different parts of Christendom. The Diet is purely a Germanic voluntary association.

III. THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1857.—1. Evangelical Truth. 2. The Plurality of Worlds. 3. The Mosaic Dispensation. 4. Sinaitic Inscriptions. 5. Doctrine of Endless Punishment. 6. French Literature. 7. The Atonement. 8. Geology and Theology. 9. New Testament Millenarianism. 10. Researches in Palestine. 11. Quarterly Report of Facts and Progress. 12. Literature of the Quarter.

THIS valuable Quarterly announces a change of editorship, by which it unequivocally becomes, to use its own words in its own capitals, "A SOUND, THOROUGHLY PROTESTANT, DECIDEDLY EVANGELICAL ORGAN of the Church of England." It avows itself, in one or another part of the number, upon every important article of the Christian faith. High Churchism, Pelagianism, Universalism, Rationalism, are repudiated; plenary inspiration, justification by faith alone, congenital depravity, and conditional salvation, are asserted.

IV. THE LONDON (Wesleyan) QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1857.—1. The Writings of Charles Kingsley. 2. Gold, in its Natural Sources. 3. The Marine Aquarium. 4. Crime and Criminal Law in France. 5. The Emperors of Austria. 6. Insanity, Disease, and Religion. 7. French Philosophy during the Restoration. 8. Thomas De Quincey. 9. Essays by Professor Baden Powell. 10. The Moravian Brethren.

THIS number of the London Quarterly has eight less than three hundred pages, with articles from twenty to fifty pages in length. Besides this it has nearly seventy advertisement pages, so that every number has the look of a goodly volume. The Review pages are precisely the same in number as our North American. The London page contains some nine lines more than the North American; but the material and execution are inferior. The moral of all which is, that our Quarterly must nearly double its size to reach the standard dimensions. We believe that no English Review is larger than the London. No English Review equals the North American in fineness of material and execution. We are inclined to think that at the present time none surpasses it in intellectual ability.

The leading article of the London is written by Rev. James H. Rigg, of Stockport, England. Mr. Rigg is the author of the articles published in our own Quarterly upon Maurice, and Charles Julius Hare. These, together with some other lights of the Broad Church theology, Mr. Rigg is about booking up into a goodly volume, under the title of *Modern Anglican Theology*. Of these lights one is the Rev. Charles Kingsley, the subject of the present article.

Mr. Kingsley is a novelist, philosopher, and preacher. Yet the three individualities so blend in one, as to present a united impression. In which-

ever department Mr. Kingsley employs his brilliant powers, whether as a philosopher elaborating his system, or as a novelist displaying its workings, or as a preacher inculcating its practical applications, he is the same consistent propagator of the Broad Church theology. And it must be admitted, that a man possessed of a rare mastery of these three modes of composition may be a formidable propagandist. Doubt you whether his system is rational? His philosophy shows you that it is pure reason itself. Do you query whether it will work in real life? Look on this picture; for this romance is its reality in sample. Do you doubt whether he can go to the conscience with it in reformatory appeal? Mr. Kingsley is prepared to show you, both in pulpit and in book, how it will preach. What can the world ask better than Broad Churchdom can show? It shall be a very pretty religion for you.

Mr. Kingsley is a Neo-Platonist. It is singular, according to the review, that although in his novels and his philosophy he is a Universalist, yet in his sermons he threatens a future retribution. Yet the phrases quoted by the reviewer can be explained consistently with Restorationism. We suppose that the Universalism of the Christian Neo-Platonists is attained, usually, by eliminating the element of *time* from the redemptive system. The whole race is *at once* dead in Adam and alive in Christ. Faith realizes the redemption to us in conception; the completed process will realize it for the whole race into ultimate accomplishment.

Mr. Kingsley's last novel, *Two Years Ago*, contains a purposed picture of Methodism. The *London Quarterly* exposes his ignorance of some patent, notorious facts of Methodism, to evidence his incompetency to draw a true picture of its interior character. The *British Quarterly* rebukes his unjust painting of Methodism. This novel has just been republished in this country.

The sixth article of the *London* has been republished in the *American Eclectic Magazine*. Due credit is given to the *London Quarterly*, but, owing to the unfortunate ambiguity of names, the credit will accrue to the *Quarterly Review*.

V. THE BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1857.—1. Ben Jonson and his Works: 2. Kane's Arctic Adventures: 3. Dr. John Tauler—Middle Age Mysticism: 4. The New Government for the Principalities: 5. Kingsley's *Two Years Ago*: 6. Sir J. Bowring's Siam: 7. Oratory and Orators: 8. Bunsen's God in History: 9. The Chinese Question and the New Parliament: 10. Our Epilogue on Affairs and Books.

THE first article is a fine notice of the old English dramatist.

The third article is an able disquisition on the subject of mysticism; a topic which has of late called forth a number of discussions. The present article discriminates the true Christian mysticism (if that be allowable phraseology) from the spurious, as manifested in different ages of the world.

The article on Bunsen discusses his late work, "God in History." Much to the disappointment of the Christian world, Bunsen turns out a pietistic neo-logical Pantheist. He believes the old Hebrew documents, called the Old Testament, to be the best expression of the religious sentiment of antiquity, though often of more than doubtful authenticity and abounding in myths. Yet on this foundation Bunsen has contrived to build a piety of his own, which seems to sympathize with the earnest religious feeling of Christendom.

VI. THE NATIONAL REVIEW, April, 1857.—1. Aurora Leigh: 2. Secondary Punishments: 3. The Clubs of London: 4. Ancient India: 5. The Phisias of Force: 6. The Mutual Relation of History and Religion: 7. Memoirs of St. Simon: 8. The Foreign Policy of the English Ministry.

THE sixth article, On the Relations of History and Religion, is a review of Bunsen, and maintains his stand-point. Critical science, the great modern solvent, has broken the Bible from a book into a literature. Although miracles may be useful to arouse and gain attention, yet religion cannot be authenticated fully by miracles, for no miracle can substantiate a doctrine not approved by the moral faculty. Religion is, in fact, to be learned from history. It must be made of those intuitions to which the great men whose lives have been moral epochs, have given the best expression, and to which our moral instincts and spiritual feelings give their sanction. Of all peoples of antiquity, the Hebrews were most eminently endowed with the spiritual instinct and inspiration; of all literatures, the Hebraic documents were the purest depository of the true religious element; of all great men, the Hebrew bards and prophets were most highly surcharged with the supernal element, until the consummation in the advent of the Divine founder of the universal religion delineated in the Evangelists.

VII. THE JOURNAL OF SACRED LITERATURE AND BIBLICAL RECORD, April, 1857.—1. Luther: 2. On the Coming of "the Shiloh": 3. The Last Year of our Lord's Ministry: 4. A Chapter on the Harmonizing Gospels: 5. The Visit of the Magi; the Time and Place of its Occurrence: 6. On the Word Hellenist, with especial Reference to Acts xi, 20: 7. Supposed Errors in the English Bible: 8. The State of the Heathen World considered in relation to Christianity: 9. Correspondence: 10. Notices of Books.

THE Journal of Sacred Literature is edited by Dr. H. Burgess, and published by Alexander Heylin, Paternoster Row, London. Like the Bibliotheca Sacra of this country, it aims to be mainly Biblical and scholastic, though not wholly excluding articles approximating the popular religious mind. It is a publication of rich interest to the Biblical and theological scholar.

The article on Luther approvingly reviews Worsley's life of the Reformer, in which, without regarding the use papists may make of apparent concessions, an effort is made to disengage his character from the halo with which Protestant admiration has encircled it, as well as from the hostile exaggerations of his enemies.

The article on the Visit of the Magi shows, with much force of argument, the probability that the Magi found the infant Saviour, not at Bethlehem but at Nazareth.

The article on the Heathen World denies the universal damnation of the heathen, and rebukes the assumption of that doctrine as a ground of missionary effort.

VIII. THE CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER, April, 1857.—1. The Progress and Prospects of the Mormons at Utah: 2. Ivors, and other Tales, by the Author of "Amy Herbert:" 3. The Armenian Church: 4. Palgrave's Normandy and England: 5. Translations of Dante: 6. The Will, Divine and Human: 7. Commentary on the Psalms.

IX. THE EDINBURGH REVIEW, April, 1857.—1. Alexander the Great: 2. The Last Census of France: 3. The Atlantic Ocean: 4. Kaye's Life of Malcolm: 5. Roumania: 6. The Festal Letters of Athanasius: 7. Boswell and Boswelliana: 8. The Dilettanti Society: 9. British Relations with China: 10. The Past Session and the New Parliament: Letter from Lord Redesdale on Railway Legislation.

X. THE QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1857.—1. Pedestrianism in Switzerland: 2. Dred—American Slavery: 3. Lunatic Asylums: 4. English Political Satires: 5. Photography: 6. Roving Life in England: 7. Persia: 8. The New Parliament and its Work.

BOTH the Edinburgh and the Quarterly arrived too late for our Synopsis.

II.—American Quarterly Reviews.

I. BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, April, 1857.—1. Notes on the Anabasis of Xenophon in the Region of Nineveh, by Rev. Henry Lobdell: 2. Remarks on Passages in Acts, Professor Robbins, Middlebury College, Vt.: 3. The Theory of Preaching, Professor Phelps, Andover: 4. Advance in the Type of Revealed Religion, Rev. I. E. Dwinell, Salem, Mass.: 5. Theology of Dr. Gill, Rev. D. T. Fisk, Newburyport, Mass.: 6. Science and the Bible, Professor Dana, Yale College: 7. Brandis on Assyrian Inscriptions, translated by Professor Day, Lane Seminary: 9. New Publications: 10. Theological and Literary Intelligence.

THE first article possesses a special interest for the classical instructor, being notes upon Xenophon's Anabasis, written, from actual observation in the geographical scene of the history, by a young missionary of rare talent, since deceased. The fifth article, on Dr. Gill, is acute in its analysis, and interesting from its subject. Gill, like Toplady, was a high Calvinist, but wants that piquancy of character which renders Toplady rather a favorite. Robert Hall called Gill "a continent of mud." If this expression refers to Gill's style, it is certainly unjust; for he possessed a great clearness and force of expression. If it refers to his value, it is about correct. Dr. Gill maintained the physical identification of all men with Adam in the first transgression. He maintained that Christ is the actual sinner of every sin for which he atoned. He maintained that the atonement extended just so far only as the particular election; the reprobate never had a chance of salvation, and *no preacher has any right to offer salvation to all.*

Upon this last point the reviewer says:

"More consistent than some who hold to a limited atonement, or a limited redemption, Dr. Gill denies that the work of Christ lays the foundation for the free offer of salvation to all men. 'That there are universal offers of grace and salvation to all men, I utterly deny.' 'Indeed, the universal offer cannot be supported, without supposing universal salvation.' Accordingly, he severely censures those preachers who freely offer salvation to all. 'How irrational is it for ministers to stand offering Christ, and salvation by him, to men, when, on the one hand, they have neither power nor right to give; and, on the other hand, the persons they offer to have neither power nor will to receive.' 'It is not consistent with our ideas of God, that he should send ministers to offer salvation to men, to whom he himself never intended to give it.' 'The ministers are κηρυκες, criers, heralds; their business is κηρυσσειν, to proclaim aloud, to publish

facts, to declare things done, and not to offer them to be done on conditions; as when a peace is concluded and finished, the herald's business is to proclaim the peace, and not to offer it. Of this nature is the Gospel, and the whole system of it, which preaches, not offers, peace by Christ, who is Lord of all."

"Dr. Gill's own practice was strictly accordant with his doctrine on this subject. He nowhere invites men, indiscriminately, to come to Christ and be saved; nowhere pleads with them to become reconciled to God; nowhere charges upon them the guilt of rejecting the Saviour who died for them; nowhere intimates that their salvation is, in any sense, or in any way, dependent on their choice or conduct. As a herald, he simply proclaims the fact, that Christ has redeemed the elect, and that they can and will be saved. With a stern consistency, Dr. Gill went so far as to deny that the non-elect are on probation. No atonement having been made for them, their salvation is already a fixed impossibility, and therefore they cannot be on trial with reference to it. Indeed, he denies that even the elect are, in any proper sense, on probation. Their failure of salvation is as fixed an impossibility as is the salvation of the non-elect."

Whether a "stern consistency" would not push Mr. Fisk and New-England Calvinists generally into Dr. Gill's ultimate positions, might be a debatable matter. What is ordinarily called *moderate Calvinism*, is a contradiction both in name and thing; what is called extreme Calvinism, is abhorrent to the moral sentiments. If a man does not hold the dogma, "God foreordains whatever comes to pass," in the natural sense of the words, he is no Calvinist. If he *does* hold this dogma, he cannot stop short of Dr. Gill's ultraism without plentiful self-contradiction. If "God has foreordained whatever comes to pass," then he has eternally foreordained the damnation, *with the antecedent sins*, of all the lost; and that is *Reprobation*. If "God has foreordained whatever comes to pass," he has established the impossibility of an acceptance of the atonement, and so an absolute exclusion from its benefits of a large share of mankind; and that is *Partial Atonement*. If "God has foreordained whatever comes to pass," he has predetermined every rejection of the Gospel, and in every case rendered acceptance impossible; which brings us to Dr. Gill's clear and consistent demonstration of the *folly and falsehood of offering a free salvation to all*. And finally, if God foreordained whatever comes to pass, Dr. Gill is demonstrably right in pronouncing probation a most Divine sham; for what sort of a probation has that man had whose every perception, emotion, volition, action, trait, and destiny were fixed, by an extraneous antecedent power, a whole eternity before he was born?

A *holy* God who is the primary foreordainer and volitional predeterminator of all sin, and yet not the author of any sin; an eternal decree fixing the sin and damnation of every candidate for woe, and yet no reprobation; a universal atonement from which a vast majority are decretively excluded; a free agency whose every act has been eternally predetermined; a free will whose every volition is causatively fixed to one sole possible end; a free salvation eternally limited to a few, and yet offered to all—these are a few specimens of the congeries of contradictions that render moderate Calvinism a just laughing-stock for any clear-thinking outsider. "All things are placed over against each other," saith the son of Sirach; and so it is with the modern systems of moderate Calvinism. Every proposition hath another proposition placed over against it, giving it the lie, and all unanimously contradict and cancel each other. They are like the terrible Missouri snakes that voraciously swallowed each

other, and left nothing but the bare ground. The crowning anomaly of all is, that such numbers of those who swallow these contradictions with provoking ease, are men of great learning, acuteness, and piety.

II. THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, April, 1857.—1. Mirtsa-Schaffy; a Sketch from Oriental Life: 2. Influence of the English Literature on the German: 3. Holidays: 4. Hickok's Empirical Psychology: 5. Ruskin's Last Volume: 6. Biography: 7. Oliver's Puritan Commonwealth: 8. Sprague's American Pulpit: 9. Robert Herrick: 10. The British Essayists: 11. Cotemporary French Literature: 12. The Real and the Ideal in New-England.

THE first article is a highly pleasant notice of Mirtsa-Schaffy, the pleasant bard of Tiflis. Mirtsa-Schaffy's renown has been introduced to Europe by Frederic Bodenstedt, who, in a tour to Asia, was initiated by the poet into the Tartar, Persian, and Arabic languages and literature. On his return, Bodenstedt published his travels under the title of *Thousand and One Days in the Orient*, and translated a volume of the poet's songs into German:

"In Mirtsa-Schaffy we have a thorough and admirable specimen of Oriental character, an excellent representative of his class, the scholars and poets of Persia. The comic side of his character, resulting from no buffoonery or crudeness of nature, but from his perfect ingenuousness, his primeval simplicity and frankness both in action and speech, is most amusing. At the same time he is vain as Absalom, irascible as Ali, wise as Lockman, and affectionate as Hatim. His learning, in its department, is extensive, his literary taste exquisite, his wedded wit and humor inexhaustible, the creative swiftness and scope of his lyric genius quite marvelous. We proceed now to illustrate these statements by examples, confident that a picture, however unskillfully drawn, of a living Persian poet, a not unworthy successor of Hafiz, will have a novel interest for our readers."

Like a true poet, Mirtsa has had the spice of true romance in his history. He loved once a maiden, rather a Peri, the daughter of Ibrahim Chan, the emblem of perfect beauty. By the matchless power of his song, by the favor of the damsel's maid, and by the terrors of an unwelcome suitor, for whom her father had destined her, Mirtsa attained the felicity of her favor. The enamored pair eloped. Three days they fled. On the fourth, alas and alack! they were overtaken by the father and the suitor, Zuleika was snatched away, and Mirtsa fell "from the sublime to the"—*bastinado!* which was most painful to his sole. The history, as it seems to us, singularly resembles Lord Byron's *Bride of Abydos*, save that the lovers in that poem met a more tragical fate.

Spite of the mistress he had lost and the flogging he had gained, Mirtsa-Schaffy recovered his pluck and prosecuted his poetry. Why should he not? Zuleika had loved him. *A fortiori*, all the rest of the feminine gender were bound to fall in love with him, as a banker pays Mr. Grinnell's check, at sight. Equally clear was it to himself that he was the greatest of poets; a point in which we might agree with him, but for the specimens furnished in the Review. Most of it seems, to our poor taste, rather cheap trash. It is composed of the following material: Roses, five bushels; dew-drops, six quarts; diamonds, one peck; pearls, ditto; several shovels full other sea-shells, etc., etc. It is Thomas Moore's *Lalla Rookh* all over again, and a good deal more so. Yet the following is rather pretty. It was composed in a fit of inspiration on his condescending to fall in love a second time:

"Now is the blossoming time of the roses:
Maiden, bring wine; never wait for the morrow.
Over us joyfully smiles the soft blueness:
Quick let us round the dark field of old sorrow,
Tread the bright path of to-day in its newness,
Plucking at once the fresh garlands of roses."

In this second love affair, the father of his *inamorata* objected to giving his daughter to a poor tutor. But Bodenstedt exerted his influence among the Russian officers at Tiflis, to obtain for the poet the Professorship of Tartar in the Military School at Tiflis. He was duly installed a husband and a dignitary.

The following specimen bears a striking resemblance to some of the purer effusions of Anacreon:

"Better stars without shine,
Than the shine without stars.
Better wine without jars,
Than the jars without wine.
Better honey without bees,
Than the bees without honey.
Better please without money,
Than have money, but not please."

Familiarity breedeth contempt; but the familiarity with which the Review treats Mirtsa-Schaffy must not disguise the fact that he has attained the rank of a true classic poet in the classic language of the Orient. Mirtsa-Schaffy himself knows this. And the following lines are part of a noble poem in which he says as much:

"Through all lands shall thy verses, O Mirtsa-Schaffy!
Be borne forth, and the tones of thy voice be heard sounding:
The brave thoughts and live words of thine utterance free
Shall go over the world, in sweet echoes rebounding."

Hereupon the reviewer magniloquizes upon the sublime fact that the poet's fame is, through Bodenstedt, and even through his own article, extending, further than the poet's self ever dreamed, even beyond the bounds of his geographical erudition. Hereupon, too, we might put in for a share ourself. The polished surface of the brilliant mirror of our own radiant *Quarterly* shall catch a few dazzling rays of Mirtsa-Schaffy's resplendent glory, and shall shed them into still more unexpected regions. It is wonderful. But, Allah Bismillah! so was it foreordained.

III. THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER, May, 1857.—1. The New Theology: 2. The Private Correspondence of Daniel Webster: 3. Reflections: 4. An Excursus on the Epistle of Paul to the Philippians, ii, 5-8: 5. M. Remusat on Unitarians and Unitarianism: 6. Quevedo's Rome in Ruins: 7. Buchanan and Hitchcock on Religion and Science.

THE Christian Examiner has come into the hands of new editors, namely, Messrs. Frederic H. Hedge and Edward Everett Hale. It still remains an organ of liberal Christianity of the Broad American School.

The first article is a long and very hopeful anticipation that a new liberalistic theology is gaining a rapid ascendancy over the public mind. Of the nature of that new theology, he gives only negative conceptions. So far, we have merely demolitions of the doctrines of orthodoxy. We fully believe that

the doctrine of fatalistic Augustinianism needs to be eliminated from among the doctrines of Evangelical Christianity; but give us the Calvinism of Calvin himself, the earliest Genevan edition, rather than an enervated reduction of Christianity to bald moral Theism. This subtilizing Scripture history to shadow and myth, the atonement to a metaphor, and inspiration to an *excitement of moral thought* producible, perhaps, in any pious brain, by a cup of pure Mocha, is not improving, but abandoning Christianity.

The following sentences in the review of Buchanan's book on Atheism, in the peculiar thought, train, and structure, resemble a passage in our own April book notice, enough to have established a charge of plagiarism upon us, had the chronology allowed: "In this matter logic is rather critical than constructive. We think that few preachers of any experience ever devote sermons to proving the existence of God. Suppose they should be unhappy in their statement of the various arguments, suppose the proof as put by them should be defective, should we not feel that the congregation would be guilty of a practical *non sequitur*, worse than any false logic of the preacher, were they to go away and say, 'There is no God any more?' How many believe in God as they believe that they themselves live, and yet could give you no good arguments for their faith! They did not arrive at their belief by any process of reasoning."

The following, however, bears more resemblance to the "Christian Theism" of the Westminster Review, than to any theory in our pages: "Let any one, for example, turn to the sublime stories of creation in the first two chapters of Genesis. We say stories, for they seem to be two, and distinct, and, to say the least, not easily to be reconciled. According to the first account, lower animals were made before men; according to the second, after; according to one, fowls were produced from the water; according to the other, from the ground. In the first, the human sexes are described as created at once, while the second brings them on the stage successively. Which of these accounts shall we endeavor to reconcile with science? We answer, either or neither, it matters not. It was the religion in them that commended the stories to Moses, and makes them valuable to us. If we insist upon anything more, we misuse what is admirably fitted for practical instruction, by compelling it to furnish matter for contention between Scriptural and anti-Scriptural geologists, and impose upon the Christian apologist a special pleading, a narrowing of this statement and a widening of that, which is more ingenious than satisfactory, and leaves us, when we have done with it, only not defeated."

In the characteristics which have rendered this Review distinguished among its fellows, we think there will be no deterioration in the hands of the new editors.

IV. BROWNSON'S QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1857.—1. E. H. Derby to his Son: 2. Prayer Books: 3. Spiritual Despotism: 4. Ailey Moore: 5. The Slavery Question once More: 6. Literary Notices and Criticisms.

DR. BROWNSON'S Quarterly has, during our term of office, in spite of all our efforts, up to this number, failed to reach us. We have regretted this, as its peculiar position, as the sole influential advocate of Romanism in this country,

gives it notoriety; its peremptory style of presenting the positions of popery, presses it upon the public notice; and the novelty of its presentations to Protestant readers, invested with something of the freshness of perpetual paradox, obtain for it, with many, a reputation for ability not wholly unmerited. The third article is a slashing review of the piece by Dr. Collins, President of Dickinson College, on *Spiritual Despotism*, in our January number, which Dr. Brownson inadvertently treats as if the editor of our Quarterly were the author of the article.

Dr. Brownson is pleased to assign our Review and its editor their position in the following conclusive terms: "The Quarterly named is the organ of the Methodists, and while under the editorial supervision of Dr. M'Clintock, was conducted with spirit and ability. It is now under the editorial charge of a Dr. Whedon, of whom we know nothing; but, judging from the number before us, we think he is likely to sustain its former character. In learning it must yield to the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, published at Andover; in classical taste and finish it is far inferior to the *Christian Examiner*, the organ of the New-England Unitarians; in manly thought, and independence of spirit, and theological science, it is not to be named on the same day with the *Mercersburg Review*; but, with these exceptions, it compares, we believe, not unfavorably with the ablest of our Protestant religious periodicals."

Though of the present editor of this Review Dr. Brownson professes himself a "know nothing," yet we have had him under a tolerably tight supervision ever since our boyhood, when we knew him as the editor of a seven-by-nine Universalist sheet at Utica. From our own recollections or from our notice of his own "confessions," (Dr. Brownson, like Augustine, writes confessions,) we have known that he derived his first religious impressions from the Methodist preachers; was trained for a Calvinist minister; became a Universalist editor, then fraternized with Frances Wright, and after several evolutions "too tedious to mention," the circular motion ceased under the wing of the pope and "my bishop."

Without the mental steadiness for a metaphysician, without the slightest possession, and so, like a common sense man, without the slightest pretense of Biblical science or classical erudition, Dr. Brownson continues, by force of great impulsive cerebral and muscular energy, by the command of a style remarkably clear, earnest, and bold, and by a position of brave, defiant, single-handed contradiction in face of the permanent religious opinion of the country, to occupy with his Review a prominent place in public attention. If this were all a man lived for—well. But Dr. Brownson stands not only in contradiction to the times, but to the great current of the world's mind; he is withstanding the rush of the "great iron wheel" of the rolling centuries. Had he Julian's diadem, as well as Julian's talents, engaged in Julian's business of reviving the dying past, he would suffer his brother apostate's failure, and meet like fate in life and in history.

His notice of Dr. Collins, Dr. Brownson probably wrote at a single sitting. He began with the magnanimous purpose of doing the courteous; he waxed warm, nervous, and saucy as he advanced; about the middle (p. 206) the gentleman abdicated the editorial chair and left a *ribald* behind; and he closed

with a nice little storm of invectives that induced us to imagine, with a smile, what would be the fate of his victim, if St. Orestes had only hold of the brand of St. Dominic.

Dr. Brownson exclaims, in conclusion, "Have the Evangelicals *never a man*" (a slight Paddyism) "among them?" "Have you no champions of metal? Where are your Chillingworths, your Chemnitzes, your Bramhalls, and your Barrows?" The Chillingworths, we reply, will be forthcoming when a competent occasion requires them; for all present demands, the President of Dickinson is a sufficiency and a surplus. We pass Dr. Brownson over to his custody.

V. THE CHURCH REVIEW, AND ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER, April, 1857.—1. Voltaire and Geneva: 2. Does the Bible need Re-translating? 3. Gentleness a chief Element in Ministerial Success: 4. Political Economy and the Future: 5. The Puritan Commonwealth: 6. What the Free Church System requires: 7. American Ecclesiastical History.

IN this Quarterly there is (p. 138) an offensive allusion to the episcopacy of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which cannot be answered, because it is not fit to be quoted. Indecency shall be a safe refuge, though, we submit, not a respectable.

VI. THE NEW-ENGLANDER, May, 1857.—1. Sprague's Annals of the American Pulpit: 2. The Fact and the Doctrine of the Resurrection: 3. A Glimpse of German Theology: 4. The Evangelizing Church: 5. The Use of Testament for Covenant: 6. The Indian Question: 7. Christ's Bodily Presence, and the World's Conversion: 8. Olshausen on the New Testament: 9. Notices of Books.

THE third article is a very valuable and highly favorable view of the present state of German Theology. It maintains:

First. Old Rationalism has died out from every University but Giessen. "Hardly a student can be found who would dare avow himself the disciple of Paulus, of Wegscheider, or of Gesenius. 'Except some young men,' says Professor Tholuck, 'who come from other countries, it is now an unheard-of fact to meet with a Rationalist.' And Professor Kapff affirms that 'learning in Germany has triumphed over Rationalism.'"

Second. Pantheism is giving way. Springing from the idealistic philosophy of Kant, in the successive hands of Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, it was brought to maturity and applied to the Gospel history by Strauss. This roused to a triumphant onset such men as Hartmann, Thiele, Hase, Neander, Tholuck, Müller, Harless, Menzel, and others.

Third. The three great sections of the Church are in a cheering position. There are, 1. The United Evangelical Church, consisting of so much of the old Lutheran and Reformed as were brought into union, under royal influence, in 1817. "A consensus of the two confessions constituted its basis. The principal organs of this union are the 'Studien und Kritiken,' a quarterly, started in 1828, and conducted by Ullman and Umbreit; the 'Deutsche Zeitschrift für Christliche Wissenschaft und Christliches Leben,' established by Neander, Müller, and Nitzsch, in 1849, at Berlin; and the 'Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung,' at Damstadt, formerly in the interests of Rationalism, but now

conducted by Schenkel, in defense of the Evangelical doctrine. Schleiermacher, Neander, and Lücke were warm defenders of the union. So are Tholuck, Müller, Twesten, Nitzsch, Dorner, Lange, Hase, Liebmeyer, Kurtz, Stier, Ullman, Rothe, and many others." 2. The Reformed Church so far as not brought into the Union. To this section belong Hagenbach and Hertzog. 3. The non-uniting Lutherans who are high church and ultra-orthodox. "The party has increased rapidly during the last ten years. It controls the University at Erlangen, and has strong men in several others, as Thomasius and Kaniss at Leipsic, Rudelbach and Guericke at Halle, and Klieforth and Philippi at Mecklenburg. It has also three journals devoted exclusively to its denominational interests. All its movements are positive, bold, and aggressive, and it has much sympathy from Lutherans who remain in the union."

In regard to *Anthropology*, there is a general returning to the Augustinian view of Human Depravity.

Upon the *Trinity*, the great successor of Schleiermacher, Professor Twesten, has repudiated the development Trinity of his master, and advocates the Orthodox view. "Dorner's Development of the Doctrine and Person of Christ, for Scriptural and historical thoroughness, is unsurpassed by any treatise on the subject in any language."

In regard to *Inspiration*, "The views of Neander, as he has expressed them in his Life of Jesus and his Apostolic Church, are loose and unsatisfactory, making a distinction in the sacred Scriptures between what is human, and therefore fallible, and what is divine and infallible. They are better in an article written for the *Deutsche Zeitschrift*, February, 1850, just before his death. Nor can Tholuck and Olshausen be regarded as altogether safe. They allow so much agency of the Spirit in the inspiration of the prophets and apostles, as preserved them from mistake in what has immediate relation to redemption and is fundamental, but hold that they were not secured against error in their statements respecting less important historical matters. Havernick, Nitzsch, and Stier take a higher view, as do Hengstenberg, Strudel, and nearly all the New Lutherans. They discard the mechanical 'dead letter' theory on the one hand, and a mere superintendence on the other; maintaining the union of the two agencies in the written word, which makes it in every part both Divine and human, and in all infallibly accurate. Thus, for example, Stier says, 'I read the canonical text of the Bible as written through the Holy Ghost; but I so read it, not because I have formed for myself beforehand an inspiration-dogma, but because this word approves itself inspired with ever-increasing force to my reason, which, though not indeed sound, is, through the virtue of that word, daily receiving soundness. It is because this living word has, in a thousand ways, directed, and is ever directing my inner being, with all its intelligence, thought, and will, that I have subjected it to the freedom of my whole existence.'"

"In regard to the *Atonement*, the idea on which the leading German theologians are now, perhaps, more generally agreed as fundamental than any other, is its *vicariousness*."

"The following may be regarded as the three grand principles on which German theology, from its demolition by the skeptical philosophers, is now

being reconstructed: 1. Sin, not merely as an individual act or exercise, but also as a generic force or quality of human nature derived from Adam, the natural and federal head of the race. 2. The Atonement, as a provision for salvation through the vicarious obedience and death of Christ. 3. The re-animation of the sinner by the Holy Ghost in the application of the atonement, through repentance and faith. The settlement of these principles on a scientific basis has been gained after a singularly sharp conflict with most powerful antagonistic forces. But as now held by many of the best minds in Germany, they bring, for the most part, into just relations to each other, man's dependence and his responsibility, human agency and divine efficiency. They give a well-defined, objective Christian doctrine, and a subjective Christian life; a free spirit of Scriptural and historical research, and, in matters of fundamental doctrine, a profound regard for the authority of the inspired word."

The excellent article on the Indian Question is from an experienced missionary among the Dakotas. It portrays the various influences for good or for evil exercised by the *traders* and by the government, and defends the conduct of the missionary work. It denies that the Dakotas are diminishing in number, although, by cross breeding, large numbers are *becoming whites*. The editor well asks, "Why should not Congress adopt a uniform rule of naturalization for Indians?"

VII. THE CHRISTIAN REVIEW, April, 1857.—1. The Spirit and Aim of the Pastor: 2. Hugh Miller: 3. Diversity of Interpretation: 4. Historical Sketch of Tractarianism: 5. Principles and Practices of Baptist Churches: 6. Causes of the Decline of Infant Baptism: 7. Spurgeon as a Preacher.

THE present excellent number of this able Quarterly has, on page 283, the following inadvertent paragraph—"A writer in the Methodist Quarterly Review holds: 'That the infant occupies the same general ground as the adult convert; he is justified from guilt, his nature is so far renewed as to offer no moral obstacle to the sanctifying power of grace.' And he accordingly argues that the 'fitness of infant baptism lies not in any regenerating power in the rite itself, nor in consideration of the faith of the parents, but the ground of the claim lies in the *child's own present personal state of grace*;' thus utterly abandoning the doctrine of human depravity."

On the contrary, Mr. Christian Reviewer, the "writer" here *affirms* the doctrine of human depravity. If, as the writer asserts, the infant is "justified from guilt," then he had "*guilt*," and, therefore, depravity, to be "justified from." If the child was, as he says, under "*grace*," then he had a nature that needed "*grace*" in order to salvation, and was therefore by nature depraved. If by that grace it is "*so far renewed*," then an unrenewed nature, and therefore a depraved, underlies that grace, rendering *renewal* necessary. Does this Reviewer hold that justification implies the non-existence of depravity?

VIII. THE PRESBYTERIAN QUARTERLY REVIEW, March, 1857.—1. Athanasius in Contest with the Arians: 2. Exclusivism: 3. Scotland: 4. Historical Development of Christianity: 5. The Writings of Nicholas de Clemengis: 6. The Bible and Science: 7. Literary and Theological Intelligence: 8. Notices of New Books.

ART. X.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

It is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves as well as men, and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors; for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are.—MILTON.

I.—*Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.*

(1.) "*Philosophy of Skepticism and Ultraism*; wherein the Opinions of Rev. Theodore Parker and other Writers are shown to be Inconsistent with Sound Reason and the Christian Religion, by JAMES B. WALKER, author of '*Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation*,' '*God Revealed in the Process of Creation and in the Manifestation of Christ*,' etc." (12mo., pp. 286. New-York: Derby & Jackson, 1857.) The works of Mr. Walker are admirably "suited to the times," in the sense that there is a large class of minds in our day to whose cases they are well adapted, if the books can really reach their notice. They translate the formula of systematic orthodoxy into popular phrase. They shape theology into forms demanded by the current, so called, common sense. In this sense they possess a marked originality. There are hundreds of business men, merchants, lawyers, etc., men, whose main reading is the newspapers, who would find these works rarely fit into the demands of their minds. It is singular how much our pulpit fails of accomplishing the results at which these books aim.

The present work is hardly equal, as a whole, to the *Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation*. It makes less demand, certainly, for systematic comprehension in the reader. Yet, like that work, this volume is characterized by freshness of views, common sense elucidation, and often by depth of philosophic remark. It by no means exhausts its subject, and perhaps the author may retouch and complete the work for which his abilities so admirably fit him.

He analyzes and exposes a few specimens of Mr. Parker's random utterances and palpable contradictions. The greatest of Mr. Parker's admirers would, we suppose, hardly claim that he has any logic in him. He seldom advances a series of propositions in the order of ratiocination. We doubt his ability to think three thoughts in a logical straight line. He announces, and pronounces, and very often denounces; but very rarely reasons or assumes to prove. He flings you out the present impulse of his own mind, careless of its contradiction of yesterday's inspiration, and relies for its success upon its fitting into the receptivity of some of his countless auditors. For every spark he throws there is always some ready tinder, and so the fiery mischief spreads. And yet when one contemplates Mr. Parker's melancholy *no creed*; his loveless, Christless, faithless, hopeless, lonely position, like a sullen Prometheus upon the scragged rock of bare heartless RIGHT, it must be confessed that genuine genius alone could win a single adherent to take the same standpoint.

The great influence of that most subtle and most powerful infidelity, of which

Mr. Parker is the apostle, arises from the fact that so large a share of the Christian Church allows itself to be left in the back ground, on great unequivocal questions of justice, humanity, and reformation. When those low grounds result assignably from interested motives and organic connections, when they are consequently sustained by theologians on doctrinal or Scripture grounds, men of quick moral insight detect the whole melancholy deficit. This failure Mr. Parker exaggerates, paints with terrible pictorial power, taunts with the poisoned arrows of sarcasm, and holds forth to the world in shameful contrast with his own solitary, unequivocal, uncompromising position. He has powers that can make it glare before the eyes of all the world. The result is, that there are spread throughout our land hundreds of thousands of most noble-minded men, who reject Christianity on moral grounds. These men, but for a most disastrous delinquency somewhere, should be the very cream of the Church, the very flower of Christian chivalry. On Mr. Parker and his like do we lay a terrible weight of the responsibility; but in fearful co-partnership with him do we most sorrowfully hold that part of the Christian ministry and Church to stand, who are false to the day of their visitation and the demands of their age; and such a weight of responsibility, for ourselves and for ours, we do solemnly choose "to stand from under."

Mr. Walker takes up the topics of Divine Personality, Trinity, Atonement, Retribution, and the relations of Revelation to Reform, and treats them unequally indeed, but with much power and interest. Our young ministry would, doubtless, derive no little aid from a perusal of the work. We wish it in the hands of all slightly skeptical thinkers, whose misgivings arise from what they suppose to be surveying religion from a common sense position.

(2.) "*Common Sense Applied to Religion*; or, the Bible and the People, by CATHARINE E. BEECHER." (12mo., pp. 358. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1857.) The advantages of an early mental discipline, the solemnizing effect of a sad event in dawning womanhood, and the influences of a creed that tasked the faculties as it sobered the spirit, have given to Miss Beecher an earnest, stern thinking, yet practical cast of mind. Powerfully individualistic, like all her kin, she essays in this book to analyze the depths of mind, and to try the problems of theology. It is the revisal and first publication of a work printed, but circulated only among friends, some thirty years ago. She then withheld it as containing unorthodox tenets; but a retention of more than thrice the nine years that Horace prescribes for authors, has but confirmed the strength of her opinions, and decided the propriety of laying them before the world.

The book is a proper part of the educational work of Miss Beecher's life. She desires to lead her countrywomen to self-analysis and to sober thought. She is in all this no abstractionist; for the housekeepers of our country well know that she is a sound authority in the pantry, and as superb a mistress of the art of cookery as of metaphysics. But it is her ardent desire to lead the minds of her sex from the prevalent superficiality and giddy thoughtlessness, to the formation of the true reflective womanly character. She would lead

them to reflection, to the fixing of opinions, and to the attainment of the high standard of feminine character which Christianity requires.

The book itself is simply a treatise on the science of mind. The title, by a singular misfit, suits only the Introduction and the Addenda; and these, being the properly theological part, might be shaped into a separate volume.

Early educated in the tenets of Calvinism, Miss Beecher's mind, after years of perplexity in its mazes, finally revolted from its authority. To its terrible influence in placing the authoritative expositions of the Bible in opposition to the dictates of common sense and the moral instincts of the human soul, she traces an immense amount of the fearful sum of infidelity with which our young America is appearing on the stage. Certainly it becomes the doctors of high predestinarian theology to pause and reflect whether this be not startlingly true. Yet we fear that with Miss Beecher, the reaction from Calvinism has tended far in the direction of Rationalism. There is a MEDIUM, between Calvinism on the one hand, and Pelagianism on the other, which it is her misfortune not to have had in early life presented to her notice; a *medium ground* where all the declarations of Scripture are fully satisfied, and where all the moral sense harmonizes with the teachings of Scripture.

(3.) "*An Exposition of the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, by CHARLES HODGE, D.D., Professor in the Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J., (12mo., pp. 373. New-York: Carter & Brothers, 1857.) Dr. Hodge excels as a commentator no less than as a theologian. His system reigns with pervading consistency and great logical power, through the entire mass of his various volumes. Indeed, we are tempted to say of him what was said, in a different sense, of Charles V., "He is a system and not a man." His expositions abound with the results without the ostentation of philology. The consulter is led insensibly to entertain a great reliance on his manly judgment and to respect his solid style.

In chapter iii, verse 13, Dr. Hodge holds the *fire* to be the testing fire of the judgment day. The *stubble* is the false doctrine which will then fail to stand; yet the man himself, if he build on Christ, shall narrowly escape.

In chapter xi, verse 10, the *power on her head* he holds to be the vail, so called as the symbol of the man's authority. The presence of the *angels* is adduced as a still stronger inducement for a solemn decency and decorum.

In chapter xv, verse 29, Dr. Hodge seems to incline to the opinion that St. Paul alludes to the heretical practice of vicarious baptism for catechumens, who had died previous to baptism; he gives, however, no positive decision.

Dr. Hodge also maintains the resurrection of the same body: but apparently nullifies his own doctrine by adding that there is no clear certainty in what the sameness consists. Undoubtedly, the fact that they will come forth from the graves where they are buried, shows that the same constituent particles of corporeal matter will form the *material* of the new body, otherwise it is *substitution* rather than *resurrection*. The body is different in its properties, and new in its reorganization; it is the same in its material substratum.

(4.) "*A Commentary, Critical, Expository, and Practical, on the Gospels of Matthew and Mark*, by JOHN J. OWEN, D.D., with a Map, Synoptical Index, etc." (12mo., pp. 501. New-York: Leavitt & Allen, 1857.) Everything from Dr. Owen's hand exhibits the marks of judgment and scholarship. This work will take a high stand in the estimation of the students of the New Testament. It is, in general, more free from doctrinal bias than a few passages like the following would indicate: "The duration of the siege (of Jerusalem) and all its attendant calamities had been fixed in the eternal counsels of God." Every crime, then, in that great series of iniquities, was simply an act of obedience to God's own will. Preach such a doctrine, and you make repentance an absurdity.

(5.) "*An Analytical Concordance to the Holy Scriptures; or, the Bible presented under Distinct and Classified Heads or Topics*. Edited by JOHN EADIE, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Biblical Literature to the United Presbyterian Church. Author of 'Bible Cyclopaedia,' 'Ecclesiastical Cyclopaedia,' 'Concordance to the Holy Scriptures on the Basis of Cruden,' &c." (8vo., pp. 776. Boston: Gould & Lincoln; New-York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co.; Cincinnati: George L. Blanchard, 1857.) In this magnificent book the entire Scriptures are printed under classified heads. It forms a sort of complete concordance, not furnishing the passage containing a particular word or phrase, but the passage touching a particular topic.

(6.) "*Biblical Commentary on the New Testament*, by DR. HERMAN OLSHAUSEN, Professor of Theology at Erlangen. Revised by A. C. KENDRICK, D.D., Professor in the University of Rochester." (Vol. III. 8vo., pp. 615. New-York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co., 1857.) This volume includes the closing part of the synoptical Gospels, the entire upon John, and Acts, and seven chapters of Romans.

II.—History, Biography, and Topography.

(7.) "*Life of Tai-Ping-Wang*, Chief of the Chinese Insurrection, by J. MILTON MACKIE." (12mo., pp. 350. New-York: Dix, Edwards, & Co., 1857.) Strange as it may seem, almost synchronously with the convulsions which, in 1848, shook the thrones of the West, the growing sense of oppression, and the powerful working of new religious ideas, gave birth to a wide-spread rebellion in the empire of China in the far East. The revolutions of Europe have already run their career. Not so, however, in China. Less impetuous, and more patient and persevering than their fellow-aspirants in Europe, their revolution has gradually but steadily increased; and, starting from the comparatively insignificant province of Kwang-si, situated in the southwestern portion of the empire, it has sent forth its augmenting and conquering armies throughout the west; has triumphantly passed the great Yang-tsze-kiang; has stationed its victorious forces within the walls of Nanking, the ancient capital

of the empire; has proclaimed its leader Emperor of China, and has hailed him as the founder of a new dynasty, and the deliverer of his country.

The origin of this revolution is as singular, as its great power and success are wonderful. Its leader is known to us under the titles of *T'een Tek*, "Celestial Virtue," and *Tai-ping-wang*, "Prince of Great Peace." The family name of *Tai-ping-wang* is *Hung*, a name honorable in China for its antiquity, and for its connection with some of the highest offices in the empire, under the old native régime. He was born in 1813, in a small village in the *Hwa-hien* district, about thirty miles distant from the city of Canton. At his birth he received the name of "Brilliant Fire;" but afterward, upon attaining the age of manhood, another name was given him, marking his relation to the *Hung* family; and subsequently he himself adopted *Siu-tshuen*, "Elegant and Perfect," as his literary designation. His father was poor and lived in very humble circumstances. "Brilliant Fire" was his third and youngest son, and while his two elder brothers assisted in the paddy fields, it fell to his lot to be set apart for a literary career. His career of academic education was brilliant until his examination for the degree of *Siu-tsai*, or Bachelor of Arts, at the provincial capital of Canton. Here he failed, less, perhaps, on account of his literary deficiency, than for the want of the *copper* to *fee* the examiners. He returned home disappointed, entered into the profession of school teaching, gave himself up to meditation and study, became first a Confucian philosopher, then a general skeptic, and in a few years returned again to Canton to try his fortune before the provincial examiners; but with no more success than before.

This time, however, he found what was infinitely better than the degree of *Siu-tsai*. Passing through the street, on the second day after his arrival at Canton, he met "a venerable man" with flowing sleeves and long beard, having in his arm a parcel of books consisting of nine small volumes, being a complete set of a work entitled "Good Words for Exhorting the Age;" the whole of which he gave *Siu-tshuen*, who, on his return, brought them home, glanced over their contents, and place them in his bookcase. This "venerable man" was *Liang-afah*, the first Christian convert in China, and then employed as an evangelist. Once more *Siu-tshuen* tried the provincial examination, and once more failed. He returned home broken in spirit, and was seized with a violent fit of sickness, the force of which spent itself on his overwrought brain. He soon became wildly delirious, and for several weeks was haunted by the most extraordinary visions, and appeared to be receiving the most wonderful revelations. He supposed himself to be taken up into heaven. Here he saw the "venerable father," and Jesus, "the elder brother," and received a commission, after himself being washed and made clean, to exterminate all idolatry from his country, to preach a new religion to his people, and "to purify the age." When he had recovered from his sickness, he was at a loss what to make of his wonderful dreams and visions. One day his eye fell on the books of *Liang-afah*, and he took them down from the shelf and gave them a careful perusal. Here he detected, as he thought, the true secret of his extraordinary experience.

He received the books and the visions, as coming from the same source;

adopted with eagerness the new truths; baptized himself, and became at once an enthusiastic reformer. His earnestness and enthusiasm soon won the whole Hung family to the new doctrines, and his bold and fearless preaching against idolatry, and strong assertion of his divine commission to destroy all idols and purify the age, soon spread his fame throughout the district and gained for him a large number of converts. From the books of Liang-afah, he drew a system of religion, and from the few intimations scattered through them, as well as from his own fertile imagination, he devised a form of worship.

The work before us minutely traces the history of these and the subsequent extraordinary events of the early reformatory movements of this enthusiastic convert. The commission of Siu-tshuen to reform the age, and exterminate the demons, could not long fail of bringing him into conflict with the authorities. The opposition and violent persecution in this case, as in most others, served only to increase the fame of Siu-tshuen and add to the number of his followers, until in a very short time his adherents numbered two thousand in Kwang-si province. In 1850, a chain of hostile events which took place in the mountainous districts of Kwang-si, involved Siu-tshuen in actual conflict with the authorities. In the year 1849, there had broken out a contest between two classes of mountaineers, called the Puntis and the Hakkas; and the former proving victorious, large numbers of the Hakkas fled to the neighboring adherents of Siu-tshuen for protection. Being in no condition to make their own terms, these refugees readily consented to be converted, and accordingly were baptized and received into the society of the God-worshippers, as the new religionists were now called. While these greatly swelled the numbers of Siu's followers, they also exposed them to the ill-will of the Puntis and of the local magistrates. Some petty causes of quarrel soon sprang up, and as the combined forces of the Hakkas and God-worshippers were too strong for the other party, victory in several petty engagements fell on the side of Siu-tshuen.

Finding himself strong enough to resist the feeble and cowardly forces that could be brought against him, he now disclosed to his principal followers the secret thoughts and purposes which he had long cherished in his heart. "God," said he, "has divided the kingdoms of the world, and made the ocean to be a boundary for them, just as a father divides his estate among his sons, every one of whom ought to reverence the will of the father, and quietly manage his own property. Why should now these Manchus forcibly enter China, and rob their brothers of their estate?" These intimations of revolution were hailed by his followers; orders were issued for the gathering together of all the adherents at Thistle-mount; the banner of rebellion was unfurled; proclamations were issued, defining the objects of the movement to be, "the extermination of the demons of idolatry, the purifying of the age, the dethronement and expulsion of the hated Manchus, and the establishment of a native government, and the institution of the new religion of the worship of one God, the common heavenly father, and of one Saviour, the common heavenly brother." Siu-tshuen assumed the name of Teen-tek, was recognized as a great politico-religious revolutionist, and the new army of patriots and iconoclasts moved forward to the conquest of China. Victory attended them

in almost every engagement; the disaffected flocked in thousands to the standard of revolution; they were received, indoctrinated, baptized, and pledged to the new faith, and in less than two years Tai-ping-wang, with an army of eighty thousand men, besides a host of women and children, took possession of Nanking, the ancient capital of the empire.

Two powerful elements are at work in this revolution, patriotism and religion. The fundamental principle is the emancipation of China from the domination of a foreign people. The Chinese have always fretted under the Manchu yoke. Their submission from the first has been only apparent. They felt and acknowledged themselves vanquished, and submitted because they were hopeless of successful resistance. Two hundred years passed away before the events of the empire awakened in the minds of the people a suspicion that the government might be successfully combated, and the people be able to assert and maintain their independence. The wish to be free has always been present with the people, but the circumstances under which that wish might be manifested have only recently evolved themselves. But there is another, and, we are satisfied, even more powerful element at work in this movement. It bears a religious feature, which, viewed in any light, is striking and even wonderful. That a great heathen empire, submerged for four thousand years in idolatry, should suddenly become the theater of a great religious revolution, springing up within itself, and in an incredibly short space of time overrunning one half of its territory, and gathering to itself hundreds of thousands of its people, is an historical occurrence which neither the philosopher nor the Christian can view without profound interest. That religious forces are powerfully at work in the revolution of China, is a fact which admits of no doubt.

What is to be the result of this movement, cannot at present be foreseen. In the language of our author, "the struggle may, indeed, be continued for a considerable number of years to come; the Chinese civil wars have generally been of long duration. That the insurgents may become divided among themselves, is, of course, possible. But their unanimity hitherto is no sign of future discord. They are led on by a mind the most gifted, perhaps, which has illustrated the annals of China since the days of Confucius; a mind of strong convictions, steady purposes, and of indomitable energy; a mind which has inspired the leaders of the insurrection with its own heroism, has kept them in perfect subjection, and has led them from Kwang-si to Nanking in an uninterrupted march of triumph, to be paralleled only by the conquests of the greatest captains of the East." If left alone to work out its own results, we believe the revolution would make the conquest of China. But already the opinion of our author seems about to be realized, namely, "that the nations of the West will finally interfere in this war of the two dynasties, and will throw the weight of their swords into one scale or the other." The movements of Tai-ping-wang must be lost sight of, for some time, in the more threatening hostilities of China and Great Britain, and the future result of the revolution must be profoundly involved in the present issues between the government of Heen-fung and foreign nations.

The "Life of Tai-ping-wang" is an interesting and valuable book, written

in a most pleasing and readable style. The very events which it records give it an air of romance, while, at the same time, it is reliable as an accurate historical exposition of this great revolutionary movement. The work is accompanied by an extended Appendix of official and authentic documents, such as proclamations, edicts, creeds, rituals, laws, government, etc., of the new dynasty, making the book altogether a valuable accessory to the library of any who are concerned in the affairs of China.

J. W.

(8.) "*The New-England History*, from the Discovery of the Continent by the Northmen, A.D. 986, to the period when the Colonies declared their Independence, A.D. 1776, by CHARLES W. ELLIOTT, Member of the New-York, Ohio, and Connecticut Historical Societies." (2 vols., 8vo., pp. 500, 492. New-York: Charles Scribner, 1857.) This is certainly a very readable history. It is thorough in its collection of facts; it is animated with a truly living spirit; on the great subjects of human rights and abhorrence of oppression, whether by pope, potentate, or planter, the author has a large heart occupying the right locality in his "*physique*." It gives a very lively picture of the New-England of the past, by anecdotes and by *documents*, not fused, as a Bancroft or Robertson would have done it, into the texture of the style, but transferred verbatim into the pages of the volume. Thus we have a poem by Franklin and his speech of Polly Baker, (containing rather licentious language,) the entire twenty-five verses of the ballad on Captain Kidd, the Saybrook Platform, with every plank and nail, and the mortal entirety of the Westminster Catechism.

The work would be valuable to all professors of rhetoric, in obtaining specimens of every kind of defect of style, and illustrating every sort of violation of the rules of good sense in composition. Especially are there upon every few pages specimens of the uncouth, the tawdry, the shallow-profound, the vulgar, or even the colloquially profane. Under each of these heads we have penciled a few passages, all from the second volume:

The Uncouth.—"Governor Haynes was the *strongest* man in the first company that settled Connecticut."—P. 34. Whether Governor Haynes was strongest in his arms, legs, or head, is not said.

"It is told *how* one of his waggish neighbors was applied to by a traveling tinker for a job. Not having anything to mend, he said, 'I have nothing, but I advise you to go to neighbor Saltonstall, who has a "Saybrook Platform," which needs tinkering badly.'"—P. 35.

"He was hanged at Execution Dock, May 12, 1701; and *all England was agog* with the doings of the pirate Kidd."—P. 59.

"Before he could do these things, *he ran against* Colonel Johnson on the shores of Lake George."—P. 99.

The Tawdry.—"Most New-England children, whether educated in Episcopacy or out of it, remember with delight the preparation for Christmas; how through the snow they went out for evergreens, and brought back loads of 'Christmas,' with which to dress and ornament the little country church; how, evening after evening, the girls and boys, with a few matrons, collected

together to wind these into wreaths, and fashion them into stars and mottoes; and that many a love matter had its small beginning at such times. And when the Church was trimmed, and 'Christmas Eve' came, the eyes of every child sparkled as *through each pane of the windows of the little Church the little candles shot out streams of bright light over the glittering snow.* And when in the singer's gallery, half hidden among the trees, the blushing country maidens stood with wreaths on their heads, and sung out that beautiful hymn, beginning,

'While shepherds kept their flocks by night,'

then the *growing men below saw angels there, whom they never forgot; and in the fullness of time they returned, and bore away one of them, and together were translated, not as Enoch was, but to a kind of heaven here below.*"—Pp 220, 221.

The Shallow-Profound.—"Meanness of spirit is certainly to be regretted, and to be *fled from*; but he who flies from New-England in search of Paradise, will probably compass the earth and come back to New-England without having found it. Men and women, there as elsewhere, *ought* to be open-minded and open-hearted; but they do well to avoid the loose and lavish habits of courtly people, when indulged at the cost of honor, and conscience, and comfort. Let every nation make the most of its virtues, and repel its vices without delay. Let every man enjoy all the good wherever he is, and learn quickly that all people and all nations have their good side, which he will try to appreciate, *if he is not a FOOL (!!!)*"—P. 16.

"In New-England, women were never made the slaves or inferiors of men; they were co-equal in social life, and held a position superior to that held by them in England. Society did not then, however, *recognize their political rights*, and it *does not yet, there or elsewhere*; their right to own property is now generally allowed.

"There were few books in New-England once, and *women got knowledge by word of mouth*—they do it still (!)

"There seems to have existed a surprising and unnatural development of that peculiar and delightful organ, *the tongue*; for we find included in the earliest and most important laws in Rhode Island, and other colonies, this one:

"It is ordered, Common Scolds shall be punished by the Ducking Stool."

"We can only infer, that there were women then who were a public nuisance, and *are lost in wonder*; the historian commends the fact to the notice of those who are regretting that they do not live in those 'good old times.'

"Young, unmarried women, however beautiful or accomplished, were known under the singular generic name of '*gals*,' and it is yet a common title. It seems to be a corruption of the word girl, and a singularly inveterate one. Fathers were in the habit of saying, '*my gals*,' and sweethearts spoke of blushing maidens in the same way, as '*my gal*.' It certainly fails to impress one, in this day, as elegant or necessary.

"We know (for the New-England Records tell us how Hanniel Bosworth's daughter was fined 5s. for wearing silk) that brocades rustled then as finely as they do now, that hoops amplified the lower parts, and that *stays* made

strange work with the bodies of women; and *we also know that some deacons' wives were as bad as any other.*"—Pp. 17, 18. (Any other what?)

"The children probably had as poor a time as any portion of the people, for the prevailing principles did not favor too much gayety. Besides the catechisms, which were apt to prove indigestible to children, there was an infinite quantity of work to be done, and both women and children were required to do their share. To the latter fell a class of work known by the Saxon word 'Chores;' and these chores they were deputed to do, morning and night, besides their school duty; they consisted of *bringing in the wood, feeding and milking the cow, taking her to and from pasture, picking up chips, making snow paths*, going of innumerable '*arrants*,' carrying cold victuals to the poor, and so on, the odds and ends of daily life. This early inured children to the responsibility of life; and although it made them old before their time, it guarded them from that levity and recklessness which has ruined many a fine promise, and wrecked many a high hope. There is much truth in the fine old verse,

'All work and no play
Makes Jack a dull boy;
But all play and no work
Makes him a mere toy.'—Pp. 24, 25.

"The prevailing religious opinion of New-England was strongly committed to the importance of the devil and his agents; and his power was believed, by many, to be equal, if not superior to that of God (!) This belief has always given singular importance to a priesthood, who were supposed to be able to withstand or cajole him; and acting against him, the clergy of New-England were of consequence, in the eyes of the people, as well as in their own. The few who urged the Almighty power of God, and the certainty of evil being overcome with good, and resisted this belief, whether among the clergy or laity, were easily silenced by the cry of sadduceism and infidelity, which was sprung upon them."—P. 43.

"Those who have been led to think that *these religious excitements were the work of God, rather than of men*, will do well to remember, that they never came in times of war, or when the minds of people were already occupied; and that usually they followed a dull condition of the public mind, and always were brought to pass at a season of the year when the work of the farmer does not press. *No revivalist preacher would now attempt an excitement in the month of May.*"—P. 143.

The Vulgar.—Colloquial vulgarisms are especially and unnecessarily given in numerous trashy anecdotes. Some of the anecdotes are amusing and pointed; a large number are very flat.

The Profane.—The word *damned*, or *damn'd*, in its colloquially profane sense, seems to be a favorite, as it occurs several times in the anecdotes in the course of a few pages. The following two sentences occur on the same page. "Hang, and be damned!" "Gentlemen," he said, "this is one way to make Whigs, but, *by heavens*, 'twill do it!"—P. 374.

There is not, probably, a well-written chapter in the book. Would the author put the mass of valuable matter into the hands of some literary man, possessed, not only of his own free, living spirit, but of suitable literary qualifications,

and a little less inclined to the irreligious, the public might, as it ought, receive a book not only readable like this, but worthy to stand on the same shelf with the works of Prescott and Bancroft. We have done our critical duty, no more, no less, in making this statement. And we do this all the more thoroughly because these volumes have been indorsed so easily by leading New-England religious periodicals, one of the ablest of which (The New-Englander) quotes the following solecism without rebuke: "His quickness of insight, and his fervid imagination, though they led him to see and maintain the noblest truths, they also led him to advocate opinions, which may be called fantastic, such as the 'gift of tongues' and 'power of prophecy' in the true ministry."

(9.) "*Greece and the Greeks of the Present Day*, by EDMOND ABOUT." (12mo., pp. 360. New-York: Dix, Edwards, & Co., 1857.) M. About landed at Piræus on the 9th of February, 1852; and we infer from his book that his stay in Greece was of considerable length. The pages before us are devoted exclusively to the Greeks of the present day, and aim to convey a vivid portraiture of the country and its inhabitants, their arts and manufactures, commerce, domestic life, government, religion, and finance, the royal court and the state of society. Our author gives us a systematic view of his observations, rather than a consecutive narrative of his travels and intercourse with the people. The plan, however, is better than its execution. The style is that of a flippant Frenchman, who continually leads the reader to suspect that accuracy of representation may have been sacrificed, to allow him to point a jest or introduce a *bon mot*; and this fault is rather exaggerated than concealed by the awkwardness of the English version. A more serious defect in M. About's work is the *animus* pervading it. There is a view of the condition of any country, which, however true it may be, is not fair and comprehensive. It would be no difficult task, by collecting all the floating scandal of the most virtuous community, to make it appear a very sink of corruption. The duty of a faithful traveler is very different from this. From the mass of information which he has collected in the country he has visited, he should select such materials as will properly illustrate both the good and bad features of its civilization. If he acts otherwise, and gives an undue preponderance to either, he utterly deprives his readers, as well as himself, of the means of forming an impartial estimate of its condition. M. About has fallen into the error of making his book a repository of gossip. With little sympathy for the Greek race, in either ancient or modern times, he undertakes to support the position taken by a countryman of his, at the beginning of this century: "Monsieur, c'est la même canaille qu'au temps de Themistocle!" Consequently he pays little attention to the wonderful progress of intelligence and refinement, and to that remarkable school system which bids fair to rival that of the most polished nations of Europe. "The only thing I admire in public education in Greece," says M. About, "is that it is gratuitous for all classes, from the village schools up to the classes of the university."—(P. 173.) Of the value of the latter, at present barely twenty years old, he judges by instituting a comparison with the time-honored halls of the Sorbonne.

Considerable sensation is said to have been created at Athens by the descrip-

tions which M. About gives of the depredations of the Klefts, or mountain-robbers; and a certain patriotic Greek writer undertook to apologize for them, as the champions of Greek independence. But whatever may have been their character during the dominion of the Turks and at the commencement of the revolution, it cannot be denied that theirs is a system of highway robbery which can claim no sympathy from a Christian philanthropist. At the same time, we think that M. About has given an exaggerated view of this brigandage, which has certainly been entirely suppressed throughout the whole of Peloponnesus. That it should maintain its ground a while longer in Northern Greece, whence, on approach of danger, the robbers are accustomed to take refuge over the mountains into Turkish territory, is not astonishing, when the rugged character of the country is taken into consideration. It will be idle to expect the government to show much energy in this direction, while its attention is constantly drawn to the imperious demands of the three allied powers, and its hands paralyzed by the presence of foreign troops. B.

(10.) "*Brief Recollections* of the Rev. GEORGE WASHINGTON WALKER, by the Rev. M. P. GADDIS." (12mo., pp. 538. Cincinnati: Swornstedt & Poe, 1857.) The Rev. George W. Walker was a member of the Cincinnati Conference, and was one of the representatives of that body in the last General Conference. He had previously been elected, several times, as delegate to represent the Ohio Conference before it was divided, and always enjoyed the esteem and confidence of his brethren in the ministry. The incidents furnished by Mr. Gaddis, in connection with his early life and conversion, together with those of his career as an itinerant in the West, are of a deeply interesting and instructive character. As a biography, the book is very readable and entertaining, and will, doubtless, be perused with interest by the numerous friends of the deceased. S.

(11.) "*Stories of the Island World*, by CHARLES NORDHOFF, author of "Man of War Life," "The Merchant Vessel," etc. (18mo., pp. 315. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1857.) Mr. Nordhoff's name is pleasantly familiar to the readers of the Ladies' Repository, and we doubt not his animated style of narrative and description will render the present volume acceptable, especially to the juveniles, who may like to take the tour of the Island World with him. It is a varied and picturesque route, abounding in attractive views of nature, but repulsive views of humanity. "All but the spirit of man is Divine." When shall the Gospel breathe the Divine life and develop the Divine image in that depraved mass?

(12.) "*The North and South: being a Statistical View of the Condition of the Free and Slave States*, by HENRY CHASE and C. H. SANBORN. Compiled from Official Documents." (12mo., pp. 191. Cleveland, Ohio: Henry P. B. Jewett, 1857.) This is an invaluable book for North and South, and contains truth that both North and South will learn to a common advantage. It ought to be in every freeman's hands, and especially in every slaveholder's. It is a true Union saver. The Union can never be rescued by compromises

or bargains, by silencing discussion, or "suppressing abolitionism." It is not *freedom* which threatens the Union, but *slavery*. And the Union can be saved, not by invading the rights of freemen, but by limiting and diminishing that servile cause of all our discord and all our danger. Now, this book lays before us the path of peace and union by the route of freedom. Its argument is founded, not upon moral philosophy, but arithmetic. It appeals, not to the rights of man, but to the interests of men. It shows that slavery does not *PAY*, but that its cessation would. Tell a man that he is prosecuting a dishonest or a shameful business, and there is a tolerable danger that he will flash and refuse to hear; but show him that his business is unprofitable, and that you can point him the way to wealth and prosperity, his eye will brighten and his ear open. Now the demonstrative truths of political economy show that the disuse of slave labor and the basing the prosperity of our entire country upon free principles would *enrich the South*; would spread fertile farms over her soil, dot her territories with thrifty villages, enlarge her capitals with city blocks, fill her ports with commerce, and her merchant's coffers with wealth, as well as unite our states in harmony, and restore the happy reign of ancient concord.

A large part of the work is devoted to demonstrating the very great and very unfair political advantages afforded to the South over the North in our federal compact. Some of them are of a startling nature, and ought to be well understood and weighed. But it is not to this part we intend to direct our attention. The various modes in which slavery at present renders the South poor and degraded in wealth, in education, in morals, are here depicted; but the *one special point* to which we call attention is, *impoverishment by depreciation in the value of lands*. The statistics show a regular and rapidly descending sliding scale from North to South. Mount a pair of hundred mile boots, and starting from the Pennsylvania line, march toward the Gulf, and at every step you take, though the soil may oft grow richer, the price grows uniformly cheaper. You leave it at New-Jersey worth *forty-three dollars*, and you find it in South Carolina worth *one dollar and a quarter*. The proximity of a free state, though it thin the phalanx of slaves, enhances the price of the soil; and every slave that escapes, *by the very act* leaves behind him more than his own value. Plans of emancipation are vainly hatched by our Northern theorists, by way, perhaps, of amusement; for the South has been too busy in plans of slavery extension to notice these fabrics of moonshine. But what shows the futility of these plans is the demonstrable fact, as shown in this valuable book, that *the South would be immensely richer to-morrow by the cessation of slavery*. Freedom would pay for itself and emancipation prove a profitable job. "Thus, the figures show that Tennessee could afford, for the sake of freedom, to sacrifice the whole value of her quarter of a million of slaves, and pay in addition the sum of \$185,749,446. For the sake of a free neighbor, and to bring up their lands to the value of those of Maryland, the states of North and South Carolina, and Georgia, could afford to sacrifice the whole of their own slaves, pay for those of Tennessee, and make \$439,958,405 by the bargain; which sum is considerably more than twice the present value of all their lands. Nay, these states could afford to send off, singly, every slave within their limits, in a coach with two horses, and provisions for a year, if they could but bring up

the value of their lands to that of the land in Northern Maryland. Indignation, and patriotism, and dissolution of the Union, indeed, if a fugitive now and then be not reclaimed! South Carolina could afford to pay every year more money than she spent in the whole Revolutionary war, to make her whole number of slaves fugitives; and then make money enough by the transaction to fence in the whole state with a picket fence, to prevent their return."—P. 45.

Now we rejoice in these facts, and rejoice in their diffusion through the public mind as causes and tokens of returning peace and union to our country. They are a dawning light in a dark sky. We cheerfully hope that the day is not distant when the ignorant fanaticism of pro-slavery propagandism will burn out, when the vile craft of political pro-slavery demagogism will break down, and returning common sense, guided by a view of her own welfare, will prompt the South to the path of the truest freedom and the richest prosperity. The broken fraternal bonds of Church and State may be then restored; the tarnish which dims the fine gold of Southern piety may be wiped off; the same Episcopal hands may then again consecrate our ministry from Maine to Texas; and brethren, long separated, may yet shake hands upon the common platform of freedom and religion. We do not believe in a semi-pagan "manifest destiny." But we have faith in the grand designs of a gracious Providence for our great united country. We have a cheery hope that the dark cloud of plantation despotism will disappear, and that rational liberty and pure piety, the English language, Republican institutions, and the Protestant religion, will spread their benign existence over our entire continent.

(13.) "*The Student's Gibbon*. The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, by EDWARD GIBBON, Abridged. Incorporating the Researches of recent Commentators, by WILLIAM SMITH, LL.D., editor of the Classical and Latin Dictionaries. Illustrated by One Hundred Engravings on Wood." (12mo., pp. 677. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1857.) We have called Gibbon's the greatest of histories. And when we send our memory through its vast and varied apartments, we look upon it as one of the greatest monuments extant, as the product of a single mind. We suppose it is right to reduce it into a symmetrical abridgment. It is the few, indeed, probably the very few, that master the great original. Here it is in its trimmed and compressed form, still a great book; still a discipline and a treasury for the mind. That it is well done, the great erudition and solid judgment of Dr. Smith are guarantees.

(14.) "*Life Among the Indians*; or, Personal Reminiscences and Historical Incidents, Illustrative of Indian Life and Character, by RA-WAH-WAH. Edited by D. W. CLARK, D.D." (12mo., pp. 548. Cincinnati: Swormstedt & Poe.) Lo, here is a book by an Indian chief; a real native of pure breed. Ra-wah-wah belongs to a very large and powerful tribe living on both sides the Rocky Mountains. They are a people somewhat civilized, and, to a great extent, profess to be Christians, though it must be confessed a large part of their conduct but poorly sustains the profession, being, to a great degree, a hard-drinking, marauding, oppressive race.

Rah-wah-wah, notwithstanding the badness of the breed, is a very brave, stout-built, mild-looking old chief. He is a great speaker, and has labored with much success among both his own and other tribes. His narrative commences with the first settlement of the Northwestern Territory, and, though somewhat marvelous, is very intelligent, and no doubt perfectly reliable. The book in its different pages presents in unconscious but powerful contrast, the opposites of Pagan savagism and Christian civilization. The narrative of the massacre of the Moravian Indians, and the terrible vengeance upon Colonel Crawford, present pages of torture for the reader. The bold figure of Tecumseh stands out in fresh, real life. Of the various portraits of Indian chiefs, the most truly striking is that of Keokuk. He is the finest character in our wilderness history, Red Jacket not excepted. Keokuk is the forest Pericles; the warrior, the orator, the statesman, the accomplished lover of the beautiful, and the instinctive master of human nature, he is in no respect the natural inferior of his brilliant Athenian prototype. His management to arrest his countrymen in the purpose of joining Black Hawk, is one of the finest strokes on record.

We omitted to say that Rah-wah-wah belongs to the tribe of Pale Faces, by whom he is called James B. Finley; familiarly, Father Finley. Perhaps our readers have heard of him.

(15.) "*Heroines of Methodism; or, Pen and Ink Sketches of the Mothers and Daughters of the Church*, by Rev. GEORGE COLES." (12mo., pp. 336. New-York: Carlton & Porter, 1857.) Religion calls out all the heroism of man's nature, but it is the very field for the purer heroism of her who was last at the cross and earliest at the tomb. The developments of our own peculiar Church history have drawn into history many a noble specimen of the sex, which, weaker though it be in physical power, is stronger in the moral and the spiritual. Mr. Coles has here presented us a series of portraits, or rather miniatures, which the—*ladies?* no—women, of our present living Church will contemplate with pleasure and study as examples. Our only regret is that so many of the biographies are so brief; while we assure our readers that none of them will be found too long. Let this fine volume be found on every parlor table through all our denomination.

(16.) "*Recollections of a Superannuate; or, Sketches of Life, Labor, and Experience in the Methodist Itinerancy*, by Rev. DAVID LEWIS, of the Ohio Conference. Edited by Rev. S. M. MERRILL." (12mo., pp. 311. Cincinnati: Printed at the Methodist Book Concern, for the author.) Mr. Lewis has given us a book which will possess much interest for many readers. Some of the dwellers on the banks of Lake Champlain and the Hudson will delight to read of stirring events which occurred in those regions forty years ago. The inhabitants of Ohio will learn what the Lord hath done in many parts of their noble state in later years. Sketches of scenes in which McKendree, George, Merwin, Ostrander, and many others took part, will be perused with pleasure and profit by some who knew and many who have heard of those deceased men of God.

E. O.

(17.) "*Arctic Adventure by Sea and Land, from the Earliest Date to the Last Expeditions in Search of Sir John Franklin*. Edited by EFES SARGENT. With Maps and Illustrations." (12mo., pp. 480. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co., 1857.) A volume of great interest, both scientific and popular. The entire history of the fascinating adventures of arctic discovery is here furnished in manual form, drawn from the most authentic sources, adorned with the amplest illustrations, and invested by Mr. Sargent with an attractive style. Nearly the entire of the first three chapters is occupied with the details of the primitive explorers after the Northmen; namely, the Cabots, Frobisher, Davis, Hudson, Baffin, Behring, Mackenzie, and others. Their names, by a peculiarly appropriate compensation, are made immortal and common as school-room words, by being spread upon the maps of the regions they explored. But by far the principal bulk of the book, comprehending more than seventeen chapters, is occupied with the achievements of the present generation. The stalwart forms of Ross, Franklin, Parry, McClure, and Kane, with others, heroes and martyrs of science, march in brave procession before us.

(18.) "*Pictures of Slavery in Church and State; including Personal Reminiscences, Biographical Sketches, etc., with an Appendix containing the Views of John Wesley and Richard Watson on Slavery, by Rev. JOHN DIXON LONG, a Superannuated Minister of the Philadelphia Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church*." (12mo., pp. 410. Philadelphia: Published by the Author, 1857.) Mr. Long is a native of Maryland, and the son of a slaveholder. He had resolved to brave the reproach of being called "an abolitionist" in his native state; but repugnance to subjecting a rising family to the influences of the system, induced him to remove northward. But removal from the system did not remove him from among its supporters. A sense of the guilt of northern advocacy of slavery induced him to devote the hours of feeble health to preparing his testimony to the facts upon which the world should form its judgment. Having prepared his work, no Philadelphia publisher would assume the responsibility, and, though possessed of little money to lose, he publishes at his own risk.

A glance at the work induces us to think that it furnishes something of what is needed—an *unimpeachable statement of facts*. Good or evil, let us know the truth. Let falsehood, cowardice, and concealment stand aside; and let the light of the sun shine on all its parts and transactions. Take off the enchanting mask, and let the apologizing part of the church see for what it is they are pleading. Let it be bought, read, and judged by the thinking public.

(19.) "*History of the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, by Dr. EMORY*." This work has been revised and brought down to the present time by W. P. STRICKLAND, D.D. The changes which have been made in the Discipline since 1843, when the work was first published, have been all incorporated in their appropriate places and under their respective dates. The whole forms a complete digest of the doctrines, government, and economy of the Church from the beginning, and should be in the hands of every administrator of discipline in the Methodist Episcopal Church.

(20.) "*The Norse Folk ; or, a Visit to the Homes of Norway and Sweden*, by CHARLES LORING BRACE, author of *Hungary in 1851*." (12mo., pp. 516. New-York: Charles Scribner, 1857.) We regret that space does not allow us to give a full notice of Mr. Brace's visit to the home of his ancestors. It is a vivid picture of a peculiar people.

(21.) "*The Christian Doctrine of Slavery*, by GEORGE D. ARMSTRONG, D.D., pastor of a Presbyterian Church in Norfolk, Va." (12mo., pp. 148. New-York: Charles Scribner, 1857.)

(22.) "*A Report of the Decisions of the Dred Scott Case*." (8vo., pp. 633. New-York: Appleton & Co., 1857.)

(23.) "*Star of Bethlehem, and other Stories: Book of Sunday Pictures*."

(24.) "*The Good Shepherd: Book of Sunday Pictures*."

(25.) "*The Boys and Girls' Illustrated Bird Book*, by JULIA COLMAN."

We cannot help it. We must give Carlton & Porter a puff. These last three books are the very flower of young literature. They are written in simple style and short words. And the pictures are colored with the richest splendor. No live peacock ever unfolded a more brilliant tail than glitters on one of these pages. These books are at the head of the art in this country.

III.—*Politics, Law, and General Morals.*

(26.) "*Lectures on the Philosophy and Practice of Slavery*, by WILLIAM A. SMITH, D.D., President of Randolph Macon College." (12mo., pp. 328. Nashville, Tenn.: Stevenson & Evans, 1856.) Dr. Smith is an eloquent preacher and an able thinker of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Our only personal recollection of his noble person and sonorous voice points to a moment in the Conference of 1844, when he paced backward and forward in the chancel of our Greene-street Church, like a magnificent lion, chafed and roaring, wounded by the keen and skillful shafts of the Baltimore archer.*

* Since the above allusion flowed from our pen, the Rev. JOHN A. COLLINS has himself succumbed to the "insatiate archer." He has gone from the scenes of sublunary excitement and the mists of earthly misunderstanding, to the upper clearness and calm. Would that the departure of our brother might aid in purifying our struggle for apparent right, from every alloy of earthly passion. Would that the same Divine Master that takes one and another from the moral battle, would shed a chastening influence over those who still wage the sacred contest. So shall their eye be single, their aim pure, and their hearts enjoy a blessed calm in the midst of the commotion.

Our allusion above indicates the point in Mr. Collins's history which will be most gratefully remembered by the general Church, as well as by the cause of advancing humanity and truth. The noble stand taken by him and his colleagues in the General Conference of 1841, furnishes the brilliant passage of his history. In the case of Francis A. Harding, brought up from the Baltimore Conference, which preceded the case of Bishop Andrew, and in fact decided it beforehand, they earnestly besought the General Conference, by every argument and supplication, *not to force a slaveholder into their ranks.*

Every human institution that claims permanent existence or power must have its *theory*, and demands a philosopher to construct it. Popery established transubstantiation, and mental philosophy had to be reshaped to fit to it. Charles II. desired to establish an English despotism, and Hobbism came into existence to justify it. Slavery has made up its mind to stay a while; its theory is now being constructed, and one of its philosophers is Dr. Smith. It is a benevolent wish we utter, when we pray, as we cheerfully hope, that this talented gentleman may live to be as ashamed of his book as we are ashamed of him.

There are at the present time three simultaneous causes at work in the venerable Ancient Dominion which must speedily put domestic despotism out of existence, and Dr. Smith's book out of employ. First, Virginia, in spite of her

They unanimously maintained that such exclusion had ever been their LAW; and they deprecated as an unspeakable evil its infringement or its reversal. This was spoken at a time when it was liable to cost something; when they were not on trial for being pro-slavery, but anti-slavery; and was therefore, beyond all question, sincere and TRUE. It shows, too, that when adjacent conferences, as Virginia, had yielded, and when the nation was asleep on the subject, a PROTEST of FREEDOM had there been sleeplessly maintained. We are not ready to be convinced that a gratuitous apostasy from that protest has since occurred. There are marks of genuine stuff here not easily obscured; not at all certainly by any counter proof yet furnished. If they seem a little too sleepy now we are awake, let us not forget that they waked, long and lone, when we were asleep.

The undivided and unhesitating course of Mr. Collins and his colleagues in the case of Harding, reined up the General Conference to the unwavering point, and did an incalculable service to the cause of freedom at a crisis. The course of that General Conference was certainly indecisive enough; and there is no knowing how the center might have flagged had not the border stood perpendicular, and, in fact, boldly led the way.

The chagrin of Dr. Smith and his adherents could not be concealed. "The Southern party," exclaimed he, in his high dictatorial tones, "are composed of thirteen annual conferences: Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Holston, Kentucky, Tennessee, Memphis, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Texas. Why the Baltimore should be left out of this category, *the delegates from this conference MUST ANSWER.*" ("We can answer, responded many voices.") "And I forewarn you that you will have to ANSWER it to the members and other citizens of Maryland and Virginia within your conference bounds." This crack of the plantation lash only served to render the defeat of the Rev. overseer a little more conspicuous. "Let New-England go! Let New-England go!" vociferated George F. Pierce; but New-England did not "go," while Georgia *did* have leave to "go," with her *Georgy* included, where, we trust, that both will have leave to *stay*.

The position which Mr. Collins at that time understood his conference to occupy, is indicated by these memorable words: "She wishes to preserve the members of her body disconnected with slavery, that the influence of their example may tell silently and *surely AGAINST ITS PERPETUATION.*" These are prophetic words. This is the most memorable sentence that voice ever uttered. It repudiated the perpetuation of slavery; it thereby pointed to an expected period when abolition shall be accomplished. Whether the seer that beheld that *period* in the distance, recognized the sight of its closer approach; or whether he slid into the impression that the "*breakwater*" office was to be perpetual, is a point on which we are not fully informed. But the growing impression, whether true or false, with our Church, that he forgetfully and unnecessarily refused to rise with the rising omens of the age, that he dictatorially assumed the maintenance of an unyielding suppressor over every advance of free sentiment, through the entire Church, and that, too, amid the most startling aggressions of despotism, did tend to narrow the great reputation of this eminent man, and obscure his welcome and cordial influence with the general Church. But for this lamentable isolation, far greater and more genial would have been the living reputation, and far more general and deep the appreciation by our Church of her loss in the departure of JOHN A. COLLINS.

intense negrophilism, is rapidly and wisely (as the world goes) selling her slaves to the South; second, a large section of that population are expeditiously stampeding it, via the underground railroad, in contempt of Fugitive Slave Laws, toward the North star, with much more probability of arriving at it than of being remanded into slavery; third, the destruction of the soil and the sixpenny cheapness of its price will invite a free emigration and a market, which heavy taxes and approaching bankruptcy will compel the land owners, in spite of an absurd dread of being robbed of their poverty and reduced to free affluence, greedily to accept. Thence a new prosperity will arise. New blood will be infused into old decrepitude. Without any diminution of those noble traits for which the heart and soul of old Virginia have been celebrated, a career of honor lies before her which will enable her to emulate her ancient renown.

We are not solicitous to defend the principles of liberty which our fathers held, and upon which our right to national existence was based, against our learned Virginia doctor. We would as soon think of setting up a defense of the science of Geometry against some moonstruck assailant. The man who attacks axioms stultifies himself. Dr. Smith cannot come into court, any more than a second Dred Scott. His absurd case is unworthy a hearing, and of itself rules itself out of discussion. The stipendiaries of the oligarchy can have it all their own way on their own grounds, especially within the pale of Lynch Law. We think, however, the outside world, including Christendom "and the rest of mankind," is in no haste to reverse the primary principles of right, of universal freedom, of political economy, to provide full play to slavery for her prohibition of instruction, her nullification of the marriage contract, her overseer's whip, and her negro auctions. Yet it is worth while, perhaps, for a moment to exhibit the concrete for which Dr. Smith constructs the abstract. Let us contrast the Virginia which God intended with the Virginia which Dr. Smith and his plantation clients have made.

Look on this picture:

"Said Sir Thomas Dale, in 1612, speaking of Virginia, 'Take four of the best kingdoms in Christendom, and put them all together, they may no way compare with this country either for commodities or goodness of soil.' Says Beverley at a later period: 'In extreme fruitfulness, it (Virginia) is exceeded by no other. No seed is sown there but it thrives, and most of the Northern plants are improved by being transplanted thither.' Says Lane, the Governor of Raleigh Colony, in 1585, speaking of Virginia and Carolina: 'It is the goodliest soil under the cope of heaven, the most pleasing territory of the world. The climate is so wholesome that we have not one sick since we touched the land. If Virginia had but horses and kine, and were inhabited with English, no realm in Christendom were comparable to it.'—*North and South*, p. 53.

And then on this:

"Said Henry A. Wise, in 1855, during his canvass for governor, speaking to the Virginians: 'You all own plenty of land, but it is poverty added to poverty. Poor land added to poor land, and nothing added to nothing makes nothing; while the owner is talking politics at Richmond, or in Congress, or

spending the summer at the White Springs, the lands grow poorer and poorer, and this soon brings land, negroes, and all, under the hammer. You have the owners skinning the negroes, and the negroes skinning the land, until all grow poor together. You have relied alone on the single power of agriculture, and such agriculture! Your sedge-patches outshine the sun; your inattention to your only source of wealth has scared the bosom of mother earth. Instead of having to feed cattle on a thousand hills, you have to chase the stump-tailed steer through the sedge-patches to procure a tough beef-steak."—*North and South*, p. 55.

Happy is the land blessed with such statesmen, philosophers, and divines, as Henry A. Wise, Professor Bledsoe, and Dr. Smith! Blight, mildew, and weevil could not be a more propitious trio.

(27.) "*Moral and Religious Sketches and Collections, with Incidents of Ten Years' Itinerancy in the West*, by REV. ANDREW CARROLL, A.M." (12mo., pp. 392. Cincinnati: Printed at the Methodist Book Concern for the Author, 1857.) This is a volume of miscellanies, upon which the author has employed his leisure hours. They are autobiographical and moral, original and selected. The author intends adding one or two more volumes. We presume they will be acceptable to a wide circle of friends.

IV.—*Belles Lettres.*

(28.) "*Biographical and Historical Sketches*, by T. B. Macaulay." (12mo., pp. 335. New-York: D. Appleton & Co., 1857.) A few of these sketches are taken from the *Encyclopedia Britannica*; the remainder are extracted from Macaulay's histories and reviews. It is unnecessary to say, that of the art of portraying character Macaulay is a great master. His pen has rendered history more attractive than romance. If there be fault, it is the very relentlessness of its unsoftened brilliancy.

(29.) "*Ballyshan Castle, a Tale Founded on Fact*, by SHEELAH. By faith Moses, when he was come to years, refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter.—Heb. xi, 24." (New-York: N. Tibbals, 118 Nassau-street, 1857.) The powers of imagination and fancy have been so grievously prostituted to unholy purposes, that we are suspicious of everything which they originate. Once in a great while, however, they find their legitimate sphere, and by powerful delineations of important truths do good service against the vices and superstitions of the age. Exactly this is what may be claimed for them in the production of "*Ballyshan Castle*." The staple of the book, we learn from the preface, is sober matter of fact, and its grand purpose is to expose the proscriptions and madness of Romanism, and bring out the true heroism of the Protestant faith. The style is good, the

reading lively, pleasing, and instructive, and some of the scenes are deeply affecting. It will, we believe, do good. We happen to know the writer as a worthy Christian lady.

J. T. F.

(30.) "*Louisa Von Plettenhaus, the Journal of a Poor Young Lady.*" (18mo., pp. 233. New-York: Francis & Co.) A religious narrative elegantly translated from the German; published in the usual graceful style of Francis & Co.

V.—Miscellaneous.

(31.) "*Ministering Children.* Revised and slightly abridged from the Twenty-ninth London Edition." (12mo., pp. 542. Carlton & Porter, Sunday School Union, 200 Mulberry-street.) If we were a little boy, as we once were, but never expect to be again, we, no doubt, should read this little book through and through. But dryer studies now fill up our time, and we have not leisure to cast even a stolen glance into the "flowery land" of childhood. So we have put this book into the hands of some ten or twelve year old readers. The Grecian painter knew that when the birds pecked at his pictured grapes, their merit was decided. Our boy critics, like the bird critics, know what they like better than any body can tell them; and they decide that the flavor of this book, unlike that of the deceitful grapes, is prime. The book not only looks nice to the eye, but it smacks well to the taste. We expect that the innumerable family that sit around Dr. Wise's table (his book-table we mean) will pass this dish round with great rapidity and gusto.

(32.) "*Life in its Lower, Intermediate, and Higher Forms; or, Manifestations of the Divine Wisdom in the Natural History of Animals,* by PHILIP HENRY GOSSE, F. R. S." (12mo., pp. 363. New-York: Carter & Brothers, 1857.) This is a most fascinating book. It contains the scientific and the popular in rare perfection. In its classification it is exact; in its details minute and copious; in its vocabulary scientific; in its spirit enthusiastic; in its style eloquent. There is no romance like the romance of nature. God's great book is composed, through all its grand chapters, of all the elements of beauty, variety, sympathy, mystery, and sublimity. It is a poem worthy of an infinite genius. We envy the man whose hours can be spent in delighted reverie over pages like these.

(33.) "*The Lives, Acts, and Martyrdoms of the Apostles of our Saviour,* to which are added, *Lives of the Evangelists Mark and Luke,* by WILLIAM CAVE, D.D., Chaplain in ordinary to Charles II." (2 vols. 12mo. New-York: Carter & Brothers, 1857.)

(34.) "*Life of Mary Queen of Scots.* In two books, by DONALD M'LEOD." (12mo., pp. 430. New-York: Charles Scribner, 1857.)

ART. XI.—RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Established Church.—The continuance of the Palmerstonian ministry secures to the Establishment Low Church appointments for such episcopal sees as may become vacant in the next year; and as, also, Earl Derby has thought it expedient to disclaim any sympathy with the schemes of the Puseyites, the High Churchmen of England must see that there are no prospects whatever for them of obtaining the patronage of the secular government. On the other hand, the Puseyites are a little cheered up by the recent decision of the judicial committee of the Privy Council in the case of the Churches of St. Paul and St. Barnabas, which declares the admissibility of a large proportion of the Puseyistic ceremonial at Divine worship. Unexpected as the decision itself, was the concurrence of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London in it. There are other indications besides this, that statesmen, as well as Low Church bishops, are not disinclined to avert the threatened secession of the Tractarians from the Church by a compromise. The more important doctrinal question, whether the belief in the real presence of Christ in the eucharist is admissible in the Established Church, is now further from a decision than three months ago, the Court of Arches having decided that legal proceedings have not been, as the law requires, commenced within two years after the commission of the alleged offence, and that the case has therefore to be dismissed. The opposite party has appealed from this decision to the Privy Council, but the friends of compromising will, in the meanwhile, have time to make new attempts at a reconciliation. The Convocation has had again a few short sittings, but the debates appeared to the Home Secretary so useless and mischievous that he would have suspended them, had not the Archbishop of Canterbury hastened to take that step himself.

The Other Protestant Denominations.—The Missionary Society of the Wesleyans, with an income of over £119,000, bears off again the palm among the religious associations of England,

which, during the present month, (May) are again edifying the world with the grand spectacle of their anniversaries. The oratorical successes of a young Baptist (Spurgeon) and a young Wesleyan minister, (Punshon), who assemble around their pulpits the leading statesmen of the country, and the largest audiences known of in England, will not be without a bearing upon the struggle between State Churchism and freedom of religion. Among the Congregationalists suspicion is still awake that a number of the ministers are infected by secret heterodoxy. The trial of Dr. Davidson, one of their prominent theologians, for unsound doctrines on inspiration, has terminated in his acquittal, but the opposite party not being satisfied with the decision, the contest threatens to come soon up again.

The Roman Church.—Cardinal Wiseman loses the prestige of his elevated dignity, by making too frequently his appearance before the jury. A French priest (Abbé Roux) having brought action against him for not being able to recover a document worth 25,000 francs, the Cardinal has been sentenced to pay £500 damages. A controversy among the Roman Catholics, whether it is safe to accept support from the government for the Catholic schools, has been decided by the English bishops in the affirmative; the number of applications has greatly increased, and a third inspection of Catholic schools has been appointed. A new proof of the breaking down of the influence of the Roman Church in Ireland, has been furnished by the recent elections, which have diminished the number of Catholic M. P's. from forty-one to thirty-five, among whom are several who have been chosen against the candidates proposed by the Irish bishops.

GERMANY.

United Evangelical Church.—In Prussia, the jurisdiction of the Supreme Ecclesiastical Council will be enlarged so as to extend over all ecclesiastical matters, and to take them entirely out of the hands of the state ministry and the secular courts. We hail this measure as another step toward the lib-

eration of the Church from the fetters of the state. Now already the Prussian Church, governed, as she is, by a board of men selected for their influential post on account of their prominent standing in the Church, and with the understanding that their whole and undivided attention shall be devoted to the Church, is in a better position than the Church of England, where an essentially secular court, (the Privy Council) gives the final decision on controversial points, and regards the affairs of the Church as an appendage to those of the state. The Supreme Ecclesiastical Council receives an excellent new member by the appointment of Dr. Wichern, the founder of the Rough House (*Das Rauhe Haus*) near Hamburg. As the second chamber of Prussian Parliament has refused to change the civil legislation in conformity with the teaching of the Scripture, as the orthodox parties of Germany unanimously interpret it, it now devolves upon the Supreme Ecclesiastical Council to provide measures which will secure to the Church the right of refusing the remarrying of divorced persons, whenever she thinks it would be anti-scriptural. With the maturing of such measures the Ecclesiastical Council is at present occupied. The governors and consistories of the provinces are displaying a praiseworthy zeal for promoting religion, but not a few of their measures seem, unfortunately, to be adopted under the influence of those High Church tendencies which are rooting themselves more deeply in German Lutheranism than in the Church of England.

The Lutheran Churches.—The Free Lutheran Church of Prussia has established on the divorce question those rules which the State Church will adopt as soon as the government allows it. It declares the admissibility of divorce only on the ground of adultery and wilful desertion. In Baden, the Lutherans who had seceded from the State Church have at length been recognized as a lawfully organized denomination, without receiving, however, the rights of a civil corporation. This legal recognition ends one of the most disgraceful persecutions which Germany has witnessed in the nineteenth century. In Hanover, the Consistory of Osnabruck, while endeavoring to enforce the compulsory introduction of an old-fashioned Lutheran hymn-book upon the consistorial district, has called forth a joint protest of about sixty congregations, some of which have declared a readiness

to join the less retrograde Reformed Church, if their petition to the king for the abrogation of the hymnbook is not complied with.

Protestantism in Austria.—Five Protestant Colleges (four in Hungary and one in Servia) have been deprived of the names and the privileges of state institutions, because unable to comply with certain conditions on which the government makes the continuance of these privileges dependent. Even the right of imparting private instruction has been curtailed, and in the Tyrol the Protestants cannot yet obtain permission for erecting the first Protestant parish.

The Roman Church.—In Austria the Marriage Law (see April, p. 341) is in full operation, and other articles of the Concordat are gradually executed as a suitable opportunity offers. Nevertheless the organ of the ultramontane party, (*the Oesterreichische Volksfreund*) continues quarrelling with the ministry, and the question is still undecided, for the Roman Catholics, whether the government, in re-organizing the empire, will regard the Roman Church more as an ally or as a guide. In Prussia, the Catholic fraction in the Parliament has shown its influence by defeating the Divorce Law, (see April, p. 341), first voting with the conservative Protestants for repealing a number of the provisions of the Prussian law, and then with the Liberals against the adoption of the ministerial bill as a whole. In Bavaria, the Papal nuncio and the bishops are accusing the government of having violated the Bavarian Concordat, by forbidding the Jesuits and foreign priests to hold missions and spiritual retreats. In Baden, the long contest between state and Church is on the point of being settled to the satisfaction of the Church. The Supreme Ecclesiastical Council for Catholic affairs, whose members had been excommunicated by the Archbishop of Freiburg for siding with the state against the Church, has been abolished by the Grand Duke. But in other states new conflicts have arisen; thus, in Hesse Cassel, because the Bishop of Fulda refuses to acknowledge the new constitution of the state, and in Saxo Meiningen, because the (Bavarian) Bishop of Wurzberg has appointed a Bavarian priest for the capital of the duchy, without previously informing the government of it.

FRANCE.

The Roman Church.—If the government of Louis Napoleon were guided by principle in exercising its constitutional influence in the affairs of the Church, we might attach a great importance to a conflict which has recently arisen between state and Church. One of the most ultramontane prelates, the Bishop of Moulins, had, by some acts of arbitrariness and spiritual despotism, which are so common in the Roman Church, aroused against himself the public opinion of his whole diocese. Even a large number of the priests combined to resist him, and the bishop saw himself compelled to suspend two of them. They appealed from his judgment to the secular government. The ecclesiastical legislation of France provides for such cases, but the bishops and Catholic party consider these provisions as an encroachment upon the landmarks of the Church. Ever since the beginning of the reign of Louis Napoleon the bishops have acted in open opposition to a number of the obnoxious state laws, and the emperor has tolerated their doings. In the case of the Bishop of Moulins he has, for the first time, planted himself again upon laws which are abhorred by Rome and its faithful followers. He has declared the decisions of the Bishop of Moulins to be null and void, on the ground that they are contrary to the laws of the state and the usages and liberties of the Gallican Church. The ground on which the imperial declaration is based is of greater importance than the declaration itself, for an enactment of the Gallican usages and liberties would bring the government into war with all the bishops of the Empire. There is a split in the Catholic party on many important points, but it does not affect the question of the relation of Church and state, and the leading organs of the two opposing parties, *l'Univers* and *le Correspondant*, have again fraternized in defending the Bishop of Moulins. The organ of the Gallican party, (*Observateur Catholique*) hails the imperial decision with joy. But the Gallicans, after having lost, by the death of the retired Bishop of Chartres, the last defender among the bishops, are like a flock without a leader, and are becoming themselves doubtful whether it will be possible for them to remain much longer in communion with the Roman Church. The emperor, who is guided in his policy, ecclesiastical as well as secular, by con-

siderations of expediency, will hardly think an alliance with Gallicanism to his advantage; its austere morality has, moreover, never met with his sympathy.

Protestantism.—In several places Protestant churches and schools have been closed; and the government and courts have declared that liberty of religious worship exists only for the State Churches, while all other denominations enjoy only the liberty of worship in the family circle, and are, for public meetings, and the erection of new churches and schools, dependent upon the local and provincial authorities. On account of the increasing influence of the Roman bishops in the provinces, it is feared that the declaration of the government will be, in most cases, interpreted in the least liberal sense. Baptist principles are spreading among the clergy of both the State and the Free Churches. Although, in the former, a majority of the evangelical party deplores this as the germ of a new schism, yet it does not wish the Baptists to secede from the Church, in order not to weaken the ranks of the Evangelicals in their more important contest with the rationalistic party in the Church. One of the organs of the latter party—" *Le Disciple de Jesus Christ*"—which counts among its contributors many of the pastors of the State Church, has made, recently, a profession of pure deism.

The anniversaries of May betoken the continuance of a lively interest of the Protestant population in Bible, Tract, Missionary, and other religious Societies, and an organization from which other Protestant countries of Continental Europe might learn to their advantage. It is, in particular, the *Société Centrale d'Evangelization*, which records again very satisfactory results; as, for example, the foundation of several new congregations, consisting of former Roman Catholics, and, in many other places, the assembling of large Roman Catholic audiences, amounting sometimes to several hundreds, to hear the preaching of evangelical missionaries.

ITALY.

The Roman Church.—The relation of Rome to the Italian governments has again improved. The Austrians in Lombardy are on terms of the greatest intimacy with Rome, and have influenced most of the smaller courts to imitate their example. In Tuscany, where, notwithstanding the many persecutions of Protestants, the ministry opposed the conclu-

sion of a new concordat, the anti-papal party has lost one of its leaders, and the grand duke thinks of reconstructing his cabinet on an Ultramontane basis. The king of Naples has been confirmed in his attachment to Rome, by the belief that he owes his escape from the attack of an assassin to a miraculous amulet; and even the king of Sardinia, according to the last reports from Turin, is showing from time to time a disposition to come to an understanding with Rome. The visit of the Austrian Emperor to Lombardy, and the full amnesty granted by him, has gained some new friends to Austria and to the Roman Church, among the nobility and the country people; but among the educated and middle classes of society, public opinion sympathizes more than ever with the anti-papal policy of the Sardinian ministry. In Sardinia, one of the few Catholic organs has been discontinued for want of support, and the Catholic party in the legislature is without self-confidence, and full of despair. The Catholic press unanimously complains of its inactivity. The degeneracy of Church music in the City of Rome has become so great, that the Cardinal Vicar, who exercises in Rome the ordinary episcopal authority, has felt the necessity of repeating the warnings of a previous notification, addressed by him to the Roman clergy, but without any effect, in 1842. While the unchurchly deportment of his countrymen little edifies the pope, he finds some consolation in the steady progress of foreign national colleges at Rome, where young priests are educated, from all parts of the Catholic world.

Protestantism.—According to all reports, the progress of Protestantism in Sardinia is uninterrupted and promising. A new evangelical Church was dedicated at Nice, on November 27th, amid a large concourse of people; and a school-house and hospital of the same congregation are approaching their completion. In Alexandria, the number of attendants at Evangelical worship does not fall short of four hundred, and is still growing; and the germ of an Evangelical congregation is developing in nearly every town of the kingdom.

In several places, as at Castel Nuovo d'Asti, mobs have been instigated to disperse forcibly Protestant meetings. The Catholic press has, as usually, endeavored to justify these scenes, by representing them as an act of self-help on the part of the Catholic population; but the government has been prompt in doing its

duty, and has indicted the instigators of the mob for having interfered with the free right of association.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

The Roman Church.—The Spanish Ministry base their whole policy on full harmony with the Church, and avow their belief that only a zealous Catholic priesthood will be able to save Spain from ruin. All officers of the State have therefore been directed to see that only good Catholics are chosen into the municipalities and the legislature. An official list of all clergymen will be drawn up, and promotion to the higher places of the Church will be decided only by ecclesiastical zeal. The bishop of Osmá, banished by the former ministry for opposing the Constitution of his country, has now been decorated with an order "for the zeal displayed in a revolutionary period." No controversy on religious questions shall be permitted in the periodical press, except with the permission of the diocesan bishop. No wonder that the Spanish ministry appears to the bishops as a model government, and that they make the best possible use of so favorable dispositions. The imprisonment of another convert to Protestantism, a friend of De Mora, is one of the many indications of what they intend to do with regard to heretics. Even the expedience of re-establishing the Inquisition is seriously taken into consideration. In Portugal, the king has announced, on opening the Legislature, that the conclusion of an agreement with the pope, relative to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the former Portuguese possessions in Asia, is near at hand.

SCANDINAVIA.

Protestantism.—The announcement of the Swedish king, on opening the diet, that a bill establishing greater religious liberty would be introduced, raised great hopes in all friends of religious liberty. This hope was, however, greatly diminished when it appeared, from the draft of the bill as published in the official Gazette of Stockholm, that some of the most obnoxious provisions of the old law were left unchanged. The only real improvement was, that secession from the Lutheran Church should be no longer considered as a crime. But even this change met with a strenuous opposition among the nobility and clergy. In Norway the clergy shows itself more tolerant, as appears

from a resolution, not to petition the government for the use of force against the new Catholic missions in the northern part of the land. The State Church is losing hundreds of members, not only by the progress of the Methodist and Roman missions, but also, more recently, by a Free Church movement, under the leadership of pastor Lammers. In the Danish Church a hot controversy has sprung up among the two parties of the Church (see January, p. 170) on the question whether the validity of baptism is dependent upon the faith of the baptizing minister. Controversial pamphlets and articles have increased the animosity already existing. The diet has declared in favor of abolishing compulsory baptism, which had been established by a royal decree in 1828.

The Roman Church.—The greater part of the Roman missionaries in the new mission of Norway, have left for southern Europe in order to collect more means, and to induce more priests to join them. The superior thinks he has work for two hundred priests, and is already dreaming of a restoration of the five episcopal sees which existed in these regions before the Reformation.

RUSSIA.

The Greek Church.—The hope that a better time is approaching for the Greek Church, is confirmed by the other great reforms which are continually made in the secular departments of administration. New efforts are, in particular, made to improve the system of public instruction. An increase in literary activity is already visible among the clergy, and shows itself in exchanging controversial pamphlets with the Roman Church. To assure the orthodox clergy that his reforms have no unchurchly aims, the Emperor Alexander overwhelms them with greater honors than they received before; while the people have been confirmed in their good opinion of the orthodoxy of the emperor by a public pilgrimage, undertaken by the emperor and empress, to an image of the Holy Virgin near Moscow. Recently he has also enlarged the ecclesiastical academies of Russia.

The Other Denominations.—Protestants and Catholics continue to enlorge the government for new acts of toleration. The Protestant and Catholic chaplains attached to the Imperial army have been

placed on an equal footing with the Greek Church. The Roman Church, in particular, acknowledges with gratitude the publication of the Concordat concluded with Rome in 1847, although she has been surprised that the government, in appointing Roman bishops for several vacant dioceses, has made no mention of their previous recognition by the pope.

TURKEY.

Mohammedanism.—The European papers are filled with complaints of the Christian population, that the fanaticism of the Mohammedan population attempts to baffle the reform projects of the government. Even the cemeteries where the Christian defenders of Turkey during the Eastern war are buried, have not been spared. Many Christian families have been ruined by immoderate sums of ransoms demanded for freedom from military service, and a pernicious influence is anticipated from a recent firman which takes from the Greek bishops the right of appointing guardians for orphans and insane persons, and transfers it to the Turkish Kadi.

The Greek Church.—In Bulgaria and Bosnia a large portion of the Greek Christians have risen in indignation against the oppressions of their bishops, who, not only continue their pecuniary extortions in the most shameless manner, but endeavor also to repress the national (Sclavonian) language of these provinces by favoring the Greek. The threats of a number of the Bosnians to join the Roman Church, have at length induced the government to remove one of their chief oppressions. By a recent decree of the Sultan a committee has been appointed to recognize the Greek Church on the basis of the Hat-Houmajoum. The decree demands, in particular, that the ecclesiastical taxes raised hitherto by the patriarch and other dignitaries of the Church be abrogated, that fixed salaries be substituted for them, and that the ecclesiastical property be administered by an assembly of clergymen and laymen, to be chosen by the Greek congregations.

Protestantism and Romanism.

—The Protestant missionaries and the Roman priests agree in the opinion that the Greek Church is rapidly losing ground; that the other Eastern Churches are near their entire dissolution; and that a contest will be fought between Protestantism

and Rome, greater than any other since the sixteenth century. The monastic orders of France continue to send large numbers of their members, as missionaries and teachers, to Turkey. The Dominican order, which has not yet been represented in Turkey, has sent one of its members to Asia Minor, to spend there a whole year in the exploration of the missionary field, the order intending to begin its operations, and to rival the Franciscans, who have opened, during 1856, three new missions in Palestine. For the same reason the pope has sent a special ambassador to Asia Minor, who was received by the consuls of Austria and France with marks of great respect, and has the promise of their liveliest assistance. In Jerusalem, the Austrian government is building a spacious pilgrim's house, as from Germany, as well from France, one or two caravans of pilgrims are now every year visiting the Holy Land. It is gratifying to hear that, in view of the extraordinary efforts of Popery in Turkey, simultaneous preparations are

made by the Protestant Churches of America, England, and Germany, to augment the missionary activity of Protestantism. The Missionary Board of the Methodist Church have already made an appropriation for a new mission to Bulgaria, and the Prudential Committee of the Americans Board likewise have it in contemplation to extend operations. In England, the Countess of Huntingdon Missionary Society intend to establish a mission to the Mohammedans of Turkey and Syria, as the Turkish Mission Aid Society is formed more especially to assist American Missionaries. In Germany, the Gustavus Adolphus Association, the Home Missionary Society, a Jerusalem Association at Berlin, and the Prussian government, are combining their efforts to supply congregations of German Protestants in Turkey with preachers, teachers and hospitals; and the increasing interest in foreign missions promises that soon more will be done than merely to provide for the spiritual wants of the Germans in Turkey.

ART. XII.—EDITORIAL PARLEY.

THE DISCIPLINE AS IT IS AND SLAVERY.

IN our April number we were led, by the able and eloquent article by Dr. Stevens upon slavery, to affirm the platform upon which, in regard to this subject, our Quarterly stands. The subject of changes in the Discipline, being a point of difference between different sections of the Church, we prefer to leave to the columns of our sectional papers. It is well known some sections adopt the favorite motto, "the Discipline as it is;" others, more ultra-conservative, perhaps, advocate *the Discipline as it was*. They would restore that brief but golden period when the Church conceded no place to slavery. That to that consummation we may ultimately come, we trust is the united expectation, hope, and prayer of nearly all. That freedom, both in principles and practice, will extend its area beyond our present Southern border, and, at no distant period, relieve the arduous task of those who may be firmly maintaining our outposts, we confidently trust. That the cause of righteousness must win the battle in Church and in State, we no more doubt than that we stand on American soil, and live in the light of the nineteenth century. But while we leave the discussion of sectional opinions to our sectional organs, we place

ourselves upon the Discipline as an anti-slavery organ of an anti-slavery Church.*

That we are an anti-slavery Church, was one of the points placed beyond all doubt by the unanimous profession of our last General Conference. North and South, from border to center, it was perfectly agreed, nay earnestly asserted, that one and all were anti-slavery. Of the intensity of that anti-slaveryism, if not of its future policy, it was a clear indication that, in spite of constitutional scruples, which lessened the vote, a clear majority of thirty decided for excluding slaveholders from the Church. The order given for the untrammelled issue of anti-slavery tracts from our Book Rooms, settled forever the point that John Wesley's voice was not to be smothered in the house of his friends. The manning of the editorial posts with men of clear anti-slavery antecedents, tolled the knell of the reign of old Silence. In the general, from every post we have heard a clear and unequivocal report. St. Louis has bravely responded to Chicago; and Boston has had no faint echo from Cincinnati and Pittsburgh. The pages of our last and present Quarterly prove that New-York may perhaps be able to roll a metropolitan peal loudest and clearest of all. The present attitude of things is most cheering. Surely, our Church is dispersing the delusive shadows that dimmed her, discarding the sophisms that deluded her, repudiating the false leaderships that misguided her, and will come forth in her purity and her bravery; and as she has a record on the subject more bright than any other Church, and a fundamental declaration more unequivocal, so she will take her stand at the head of all her Protestant sisters, and lead the march of freedom, faith, and victory.

Let us take up that big little book, the Methodist Discipline. We have a holy pride in it. We bless God for it. It is the child of a wonderful and blessed providence. Now this book has a fundamental rule which, at any rate, forbids slave trading, and morally condemns the *intention to enslave*. It has also an entire chapter on the subject of the extirpation of slavery. Here we stop and draw a few incontrovertible inferences as to what, on this subject, is or is not Methodism. And when we say Methodism, we mean not of course the German silver Methodism of the South, the genuineness of whose metal is recognized by no Methodist body on earth, and in whose pulpits John Wesley would not be allowed to preach his Evangel of freedom. We mean the Methodism of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which stands read, known, and acknowledged of all men; which has a past history in which we glory, and a future in which we trust; and which, when her sons unite firmly upon the platform the fathers have left, will yet win laurels of faith and freedom not merely from the world, but from our Divine Master, at his coming and kingdom.

1. It is not Methodism to affirm that slavery is a political matter with which the Church and pulpit have nothing to do. Such a doctrine can indeed be shown, from various reasons, to be false and cowardly. Is the minister to take limitations of his commission from the politician, or from Jesus Christ? Shall

* At no time has our subscription list risen so rapidly as since this announcement in our April number. Seventy-five additional names have been received in a single week; a clear index in what direction the free heart of the Church is tending.

a demagogue governor or a partisan editor prescribe to me, as a minister, the topics I may touch? Shall a political party assume what ground it pleases and thereby exclude the Church from any of the most momentous positions? Is the Church subordinate to the caucus, and the pulpit the pupil of the newspaper? The ministry has not been silent upon rumselling, although a political party has made temperance its platform. It has never ceased to oppose popery, though anti-popery is agitated at the ballot-box. Nor will the Church be silent in regard to polygamy when Mormonism becomes a question of state policy. What an abdication of our ministerial duty it is to decline denouncing the great crime of our age and country on the pretense that it is political! But, at any rate, the Methodist minister who adopts this pretense is unmethodistical. Will any Methodist minister dare say the Methodist Discipline, with its fundamental rule and its full chapter on slavery, is a political book? To do so would be inveighing against the doctrines and discipline of the Church. If it be not a political book, then, slavery is a moral topic, a topic belonging to the Church, within the limits of pulpit discussion and ecclesiastical action. It is and it has been the doctrine of our Church, from its foundation to the present hour, that slavery is a matter with which she and her ministers are bound to deal; and he who denies it, on the ground of its political character, is on the platform of the Church, South.

2. It is anti-Methodism to affirm that we of the North have nothing to do with Southern slavery. It is not uncommon for some Southern sprig to be seen North, some sub-overseer, perhaps, aping the true "plantation manners," impudently telling us that the North has no right to touch the subject. Doubtless, this insolent bravado will be repeated from the same sources so long as there are Northerners imbecile enough to listen to it with gratuitous servility. For ourselves, it delights us to comb down these stray underlings from the rice swamp, whose proprietors evidently do not know they are abroad. Strange that we have no business to discuss slavery, when every square foot of these free states is a legal hunting-ground for the slave chaser, and every man of us is by law an *ex-officio* slave catcher! Up to the boundary of our free states the negro-hunter chases his panting and bleeding human victim with dog and gun; but when he crosses the boundary, he abandons his four-legged hounds for human hounds of two. By law of Congress, signed by President Fillmore, *we* are his hounds; the ex-President himself included. *Our* only business, forsooth, is to be good faithful negro-catchers, and to shut our mouths. Should a general Southern slave rebellion take place, the North is bound to send her armies to reduce the bondsmen to submission. It is Northern power in fact that holds the slave in awe and the system in existence. We are, in reality, the *slave-holders* while they are the *slave owners*. And who does not know, even of these deniers of our right to touch the subject, how by fillibuster *southward*, by border ruffianism *westward*, and by a great Judicial Lie, almost big enough to cover the continent, nullify the Constitution, and dehumanize a race, at the *center*, slavery is making a most audacious push for a supremacy over every square inch and every living soul of us in this great nation? The very retort so often made, that Northern men and Northern capital are involved in the maintenance of the system, proves that the *responsibility*, and, therefore, the

duty and the right, of reformatory speech and action are not limited by state lines, but are common North and South. And when we think how willing Northern complicity has been, and how servilely the very worst pro-slavery measures have been sustained by Northern votes, given by Congressmen elected by Northern voters, we do not thank the varlet who tells us that we have nothing to do with the subject. But when a Northerner, and he a Methodist, and a Methodist preacher especially, holds this language, we put the Discipline before his eyes, and tell him that our free Northern Church makes the matter her business. We respectfully and affectionately remind him that he is off the old conservative platform of our venerable Methodism. If such be his unchangeable sentiments, the Discipline of our mother Church kindly commends him to take up his repose in the more congenial bosom of her dusky sister of the South.

3. Opening the Discipline, we find a solemn question put, which in its very terms does not condescend to assert, but coolly assumes, that a fundamental object of the existence of our Church is, *the extirpation of slavery*. Now it would be unworthy the dignity of our beloved Church to suppose that she would hair-split a distinction between *extirpation* and *abolition*. We beseech all venerable damsels, of both sexes, not to be frightened at mere words. John Wesley, William Wilberforce, Francis Asbury, and Dr. Coke were *abolitionists*, and would not have dreamed of shrinking from the name. Nor are we willing on account of the violences of irreligious and disorganizing ultraists, to surrender to dishonor a name consecrated by such illustrious applications. Nor are we clearly informed of any intrinsic difference between the ancient abolitionism and our true "*modern abolitionism*;" both being the same as the *extirpationism* of our Discipline. When, therefore, we hear Methodists denouncing *abolitionism*, and using the term as a slur name, we hesitate not to take the Discipline and unchurch them. *Pro tanto*, they are not Methodists. They deny their faith. They abjure their venerable mother. Nay, when a whole conference proceeds to lead her young candidates up to the altar and there oblige them to pledge, as a condition to holy orders, that they will have nothing to do with "*modern abolitionism*," we would like to see some competent authority take a Discipline and read that conference out of pro-slaveryism into Methodism. Our hearts are saddened at one of the most questionable procedures ever prosecuted in any Northern Protestant American Church. We would be glad to bury it in forgetfulness; but that most unsilenceable blabber of uncomfortable truths, Harriet Beecher Stowe, has, in the Appendix to her *Dred*, proclaimed it to the world. We would hope that if the conference record of these transactions cannot be expunged or girt with mourning lines, some darkness or shadow of death may be found to hide them. We rejoice that if we cannot quite erase this blemish from the escutcheon of single conferences, we can take our big little book, and clear the honor of our beloved Church by pronouncing these proceedings to be undisciplinary, unconstitutional, unWesleyan, and unMethodistical.

4. With the same open Discipline in our hand, we understand not the orthodoxy of a Methodist minister's striking the sin of slavery from his circle of pulpit topics. If that Discipline does not permit that topic to be banished,

either as a political, a sectional, or an abolition matter, on what grounds does any minister seal his own lips in silence? Is not slavery a *present* sin, here, on this very spot? Is the dehumanizing near four millions of human souls too small a sin to be noticed? *Is there any other sin upon which our Discipline expends one fundamental rule and one entire chapter?* Why not blot an article from one of our twenty-five? What worse is a theological than a moral heresy? We ask not now how such a ministering brother can answer at the judgment seat of Christ; or how his omission is reconcilable with his Christianity or his solemn profession of holiness; we ask how he can answer to his ordination vows, and how he can make it consistent with his Discipline and his Methodism?

5. Nor do we see how our Disciplinary logic can quite spare an unMethodistical Church. If there be Churches within our limits which require their pastor to be silent in deference to the slave power—Churches that say, "We do not see the great evil of slavery, and we will not allow its evil to be shown;" who insist that they have a nice peaceable communion, and their quiet is too sweet to be disturbed upon this agitating subject; with all tenderness for this Christian prudence, we wonder what they are to do with their Discipline? It seems strange that the entire of Methodism cannot be preached in a Methodist Church. If, upon the sin of slavery, John Wesley's own doctrine cannot be preached in any pulpit, we doubt whether John Wesley himself would preach in it. And if John Wesley could not be allowed to preach the Methodism of the Methodist Discipline in any of our pulpits, many will take the liberty to think and say, that the Methodism of such pulpits has upon this point a marvelous German silver ring to it.

6. And with our "Discipline as it is," we do not quite see the Methodistical propriety of admitting slaveholding ministers (or even, perhaps, the ministers of a pro-slavery Church) into our pulpits. These men, alas! are guilty of the great evil of slavery. Under our Discipline, they could not be ordained. They are rejected on *moral* grounds. How, then, can we admit to our pulpits men held unsuitable to be admitted to our ministry? The very ground on which our separation from the Church, South, took place was, our solemn, conscientious refusal to accept a ministry ordained by slaveholding hands. What consistency, then, in accepting a ministry in detail which we rejected in mass?

7. Nor do we see what Disciplinary discretion is allowed to any authorized organ of the doctrines of our Church, whether pulpit or periodical, to maintain a policy of silence upon this subject. In a single instance, (and in but one to our knowledge,) the query has been raised, On what grounds does the Quarterly Review claim to be an anti-slavery organ of an anti-slavery Church? Our answer falls into a most conclusive syllogism. Our Quarterly is an organ of our *entire doctrines and Discipline*; anti-slaveryism is included in our *entire doc. and Disc.*; Ergo, our Quarterly is etc., Q. E. D. No Methodist man or body can ask any one of our organs to be silent or withhold the freest, fullest effort toward "*the extirpation of slavery*," without contradicting our Discipline. No section of our Church has any right to assume to hold a check-rein of silence on this subject upon the rest of the Church. We desire the union of the Church. Our earnest wish is, that our inevitable moral advance as a

Church should be in solid phalanx; but that phalanx cannot afford to be retarded by one file refusing to move, and pronouncing *Halt*, to all the rest. Our prayer is, that such movement should be taken as our Church can take as a unit. We could desire that our anti-slaveryism should be as extended, as common, and as decisive as our Discipline. But if any power or section assumes to checkmate all movement, and presumes to re-pronounce the old dictation of SILENCE, we tell them they are off the platform of Methodism, and that the day of that dynasty over Methodism is past—forever past.

Let our beloved Church then take herself at her own word. Let her become conscious of her own clear meaning. Let her beware of a stupendous insincerity or a permanent falsification of her professions before the world, and, above all, before a heart-searching God. Let her not bespot her *testimony for HOLINESS* with a *plea for SIN*. O, let her skirts be clear and her garments white, as becometh the bride of the Lamb. So shall her righteousness go forth as brightness, and her salvation as a lamp that burneth.

We may remark it as a noticeable, but on our part unintentional fact, that the *first three* articles of the present number are from new contributors to our Quarterly, all young writers and scholars from whom the Church has much to hope.

Our own share in the present number, we fear, appears arrogantly large. And this the more so, as a freshet of valuable articles has flowed upon us during the last three months. We shall give contributors larger space in our next number. We cherish the hope that after that number our dimensions and accommodations will be somewhat extended.

Our most hearty thanks are due for many encouraging and cheering sayings and doings from editorial brethren, from the annual conferences, from ministerial associations, and from a great number of individual friends, who are nobly aiding our just ambition to make the Quarterly what it should be, a strong tower of the Church, and an impressive power with the broad public.

As much of our editorial touches upon the same specific points as Dr. Stevens's article, it may be proper to say, that each was wholly unaware what the other was writing, and each is responsible for himself alone. We expect an article for the next number, on the same general subject, from Rev. Dr. Thomson, of the Ohio Wesleyan University.

July 7, 1857.